

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate WAYNE LIVINGSTONE McCOY
Degree Doctor of Philosophy Date May, 1956.
Title of Thesis JOHN BROWN OF EDINBURGH (1784-1858)
CHURCHMAN AND THEOLOGIAN

The Reverend Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh was one of the lesser but nevertheless important historical figures in Scotland during the first half of the nineteenth century. For many years, he was the finest Biblical scholar and one of the most distinguished ministers of the United Secession and United Presbyterian Churches. As a scholar and minister, Dr. Brown exercised a profound and lasting influence upon the United Presbyterian Church. The purpose of this study is to give an historical account of Brown's life and work and to show what influence his churchmanship and theology had upon the Church in Scotland, especially upon the United Presbyterian Church. His work in Biblical exegesis was quickly superseded by later scholars, but it unquestionably gave a healthy impetus to learned Bible study and Biblical theology and inaugurated a new era of exact Scriptural exegesis in Scotland. Dr. Brown was a voluminous writer, publishing many Biblical expositions. But these works, while showing him to have been a man of prodigious industry, possess little permanent value. Consequently, his name is largely unknown in Scotland today. Nevertheless, as a Churchman, Brown exemplified and helped to establish the distinguishing characteristics of the United Presbyterian Church, i.e., fervent evangelical and expository preaching, zealous foreign missionary endeavor, the voluntary support of religion, and the complete separation of Church and State. And as a Theologian, while vigorously upholding Calvinistic doctrines of the Christian Faith, he successfully strove for a more liberal tone in the statement of his Church's theology, and exerted a deep, abiding influence upon his students, imbuing them with an exegetical conscience, an enthusiasm for expository preaching, and a more Biblical theology. The name of John Brown should be remembered in Scotland, for through his life and work, he gave honor not only to his Church but to his City and to his Country.



JOHN BROWN OF EDINBURGH (1784-1858),
CHURCHMAN AND THEOLOGIAN

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Divinity
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by
Wayne Livingston McCoy

May 1956



PREFACE

Nearly one hundred years have passed since a detailed study was made of the life and work of John Brown of Edinburgh. Dr. Brown was a voluminous writer, publishing many Biblical expositions; it was the firm conviction of several contemporary critics that Brown's expositions would live. But like a great portion of theological literature, his works did not live, for they passed out of publication shortly after his death. Consequently, his name is largely unknown in Scotland today.

Despite the ephemeral value of his theological writings, his work as a churchman and theologian has provided an interesting and rewarding subject of study. For Dr. John Brown was one of the most distinguished ministers and scholars in Edinburgh during the first half of the nineteenth century; in patiently tracing his steps through bitter ecclesiastical and theological controversy, one gains a deeper insight into and a greater appreciation of the history and heritage of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

In Scottish Church History, Dr. Brown was one of the lesser but nevertheless important historical figures. Within the Secession and United Presbyterian Churches, he was a prominent figure and an outstanding leader whose influence upon the Church was large and lasting. In this thesis, I have purposed to give an historical account of his life and

work and to show how his churchmanship and liberal theology wrought a deep, permanent influence upon the Church in Scotland, especially upon the United Presbyterian Church.

I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to the Librarian and Staff of each of the following: The New College Library, Edinburgh; The National Library of Scotland; The Edinburgh Public Library; The Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society; and The Library of The Scotsman. I have also received valuable assistance from Dr. William C. Somerville, General Secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland; Dr. George S. Gunn, minister of Broughton Place Church; Mr. G. W. Wallace, Session Clerk of Broughton Place Church; Professor David Cairns of Christ's College, Aberdeen; and Mrs. Arthur H. McLean of Edinburgh. I am especially grateful to Professor Hugh Watt, who suggested this study to me. And I am deeply indebted to my advisors, Professor J. H. S. Burleigh, D.D., and Rev. J. S. McEwen, B.D., of the University of Edinburgh, Faculty of Divinity, for their invaluable suggestions and guidance.

Finally, I wish to thank the typist, Mrs. G.L. Bell, Edinburgh, who worked diligently to put the manuscript into final form. And to my wife, Cassandra, who has patiently endured the rigors of two Scottish winters and has been a constant help and inspiration in every step of the way, I express my deep gratitude.

W.L.M.

May 1956.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN OF EDINBURGH (1784-1858)	
Ancestry and Early Years at Whitburn (1784-1797) .	1
His Student Days (1797-1806)	11
University of Edinburgh	11
The Divinity Hall at Selkirk	16
The Biggar Ministry (1806-1822).	21
The Edinburgh Ministry (1822-1858)	39
The Rose Street Congregation (1822-1829)	39
The Broughton Place Congregation (1829-1858) . .	45
II. THE CHURCHMAN IN CONTROVERSY	
Introduction	62
The Voluntary Controversy	64
The Genesis of Voluntaryism in Scotland	64
Church Endowments	87
The Edinburgh Annuity Tax	95
Conclusion	114
III. THE CHURCHMAN AT WORK	
The Pastor	123
The Preacher	136
His Preaching	136
His Discourses	144

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Message	144
The Plan	148
The Style of Composition	152
 IV. THE LIBERALIZING OF SCOTTISH THEOLOGY	
Introduction	157
A Brief Summary of Brown's Theological Thought .	158
The Atonement Controversy	165
Conclusion	203
 V. THE PROFESSOR AND HIS STUDENTS	
Introduction	210
His Tools of Learning	217
His Exegetical Lectures	223
His Students	240
Conclusion	247
 VI. AN EVALUATION	253
 APPENDIX	
The Apocrypha Controversy	277
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	295

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF JOHN BROWN OF EDINBURGH (1784-1858)

I. ANCESTRY AND EARLY YEARS AT WHITBURN (1784-1797)

The first John Brown,¹ of Haddington, was the real founder of the Brown family and grandfather of John Brown of Edinburgh.² He was largely a self-taught man, for he learned Latin and Greek as he followed the sheep on the braes of Abernethy.³ Though no university ranked him among its students, he acquired remarkable erudition and was well known to the people of Scotland for his Dictionary of the Bible and his Self-interpreting Bible.⁴ Having associated himself with the Secession Church from boyhood days, Brown prepared for the ministry under the tutorage of Ebenezer Erskine and James Fisher, early Professors of Theology in the Associate Secession Church.⁵ In 1751, he was ordained minister of the Associate

1 His father, a weaver of Carpow near Abernethy, was of the same name, but since little was known of him, the "heroic" old man of Haddington came to be looked upon by his descendants as the real progenitor of the Brown dynasty.

2 John C. Brown (editor), Centenary Memorial of the Rev. John Brown, Haddington. A Family Record, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887), pp. 11, 20.

3 William Brown (editor), Memoir and Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown, Minister of the Gospel, Haddington, (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1856), pp. 13, 14, 54, 55.

4 Robert Mackenzie, John Brown of Haddington, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918), pp. viii, 21-26, 116-124, 175-191. In the British Museum there are ten editions of Brown's Dictionary of the Bible and twenty-six editions of his Self-interpreting Bible.

5 Ibid., pp. 67-72.

Secession Church in Haddington;¹ in 1768, the Associate Synod appointed him Professor of Theology, a position that he held till his death in 1787.²

The Secession Church, with which the history of the first John Brown, and also his son and grandson, was so closely connected, arose in 1733, as a reaction to the rule of the majority party in the Church of Scotland.³ Patronage had been restored by Act of Parliament in 1712⁴ and after 1729 was rigorously enforced by the prevailing party in the General Assembly.⁵ The Assembly appointed special committees to induct ministers who while legally presented by the patrons, were unacceptable to the presbytery and obnoxious to the people.⁶ In 1732, the General Assembly enacted,

That where Patrons might neglect or decline to exercise their right of presentation, the Minister should be chosen by the majority of the Elders, and of Heritors, if Protestant.⁷

1 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: David Small, 1904), p. 517.

2 Ibid.

3 Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Two Parts, Historical and Doctrinal, (Edinburgh: John Lothian, 1828), pp. 29-41.

4 Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, Reprinted from the Original Edition Under the Superintendence of the Church Law Society, 1712, (Edinburgh: 1843), pp. 467-471.

5 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: James Thin, 1882), pp. 282, 283.

6 Ibid.

7 Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1732, pp. 620, 621.

This was a return to the situation which existed between 1690-1712. Rev. Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, in a sermon which he preached at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling in October 1732, unwisely denounced the Assembly's enforcement of patronage and the Act of 1732.¹ The General Assembly of 1733, supported the Synod's vote of censure upon Mr. Erskine and appointed their moderator to rebuke him.² Whereupon, Mr. Erskine handed in a paper of protestation that was subscribed by three other ministers: William Wilson of Perth, Alexander Moncrieff of Abernethy, and James Fisher of Kinclaven.³ All subsequent attempts of the Assembly to effect a reconciliation with the four men were frustrated by their stubborn adherence to their original protestation;⁴ the Commission of the Assembly was forced to declare them no longer ministers of the Church of Scotland.⁵ On the 5th December, 1733, the four brethren, with Ralph Erskine and Thomas Mair, met at Gairney Bridge near Kinross and constituted themselves into the Associate Presbytery, the seedling of the Secession Church.⁶ While vigorously holding to the Doctrines, Discipline, and

1 Ibid., p. 624.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., pp. 624, 625.

4 Ibid., pp. 625-628.

5 Act, Declaration and Testimony for the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland, by the Associate Presbytery, (Edinburgh: William Gray, 1747), pp. iiff.

6 Act, Declaration and Testimony for the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of the Church of Scotland, by the Associate Presbytery, (Edinburgh: William Gray, 1747), pp. iiii-x.

Government of the Church of Scotland, these ministers declared that their secession was from the prevailing party in the National Church.¹ Under the direction of the General Assembly of 1834, the Synod of Perth and Stirling restored the four brethren to their offices,² but proudly judging themselves to be on better "reformation ground" than the Church of Scotland, the Associate Presbytery, under Ebenezer Erskine's dominant hand, obstinately refused to return to the Judicatories of the Church.³ Unhappily, the obstinacy, pride, and self-righteousness, which suffused the early decisions of the Secession leaders, continued with them, for in 1747, the infant Secession Church separated into two parts over the religious clause of certain burgess-oaths which were required to be taken in some of the towns of Scotland.⁴ Those who asserted that this oath could not be taken by consistent

1 A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Government, and Discipline, of the Church of Scotland, or First Testimony of the Associate Synod, (Edinburgh: 1734), p. 32.

2 Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1734, p. 629.

3 Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1738, pp. 646, 647; 1739, pp. 649-651; 1740, pp. 653-655. The General Assembly proceeded with libel against the Seceders in 1738 after giving them many opportunities to return. The Seceders were deposed by the General Assembly in May 1740, 7/ eight years after they had made their secession. During these years, the Seceders had been permitted to retain their churches and to draw their stipends, but now these were cut off. They were left to flourish or die at the hand of the people.

4 Acts and Proceedings of the Associate Synod, at Edinburgh, April, 1747, pp. 1-21.

Seceders, formed the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod,¹ and those who insisted that it might, and that it should be a matter of mutual forbearance, organized the Associate (Burgher) Synod.² Their separation was sadly marked by mutual denunciation and invective.³ John Brown of Haddington sided with the Burghers⁴ and thus determined the branch of the Secession to which his sons would adhere.⁵

The second John Brown, eldest son of the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, was called to be the first minister of Longridge, a newly organized congregation of the Associate Synod near Whitburn, on August 28, 1776.⁶ He was ordained to this charge on May 22, 1777; his father concluded the services

1 Andrew Thomson, Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church, (Edinburgh: A. Fullarton & Co., 1848), pp. 138, 139.

2 Ibid.

3 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), pp. 329-331.

4 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1904), p. 517.

5 By his first marriage John Brown of Haddington had two sons, John and Ebenezer, who became ministers of the Burgher congregations at Whitburn and Inverkeithing; by his second marriage, he had four sons and two daughters. Of his sons, one was Dr. Thomas Brown of Dalkeith, a second, Samuel, was father of Dr. John Croumbie Brown and Dr. Samuel Brown, "the alchemist", and a third, Dr. William Brown was Secretary of the Scottish Missionary Society. Of his daughters, one was mother of the Rev. John Brown Patterson, parish minister of Falkirk and Rev. Alexander S. Patterson of Glasgow. See Mackenzie's John Brown of Haddington, pp. 307-322.

6 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, (Edinburgh: 1904), Vol. I, p. 607.

with a sermon, the third one of the day.¹ Nearly nine months elapsed between his call and ordination because the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh sent him to supply the Wells Street Congregation, London, for six months.² Whitburn prospered under Mr. Brown's ministry, and he served this rural district with quiet, lowly zeal for over fifty years.³ The doctrines and memory of the "Marrowmen" and divines of Boston's period were dear to him, and he labored to spread and to perpetuate them by republishing many of their works.⁴ Unlike his brother, Ebenezer Brown of Inverkeithing, he was not a distinguished pulpit orator, but he couched Divine truth in the language of the early Seceders and reinforced his sermons with the saintliness of his daily life.⁵ He was ardently interested in the evangelization of the Highlands and was instrumental in forming a Gaelic Society which propagated the gospel in the vernacular language.⁶ Brown remained at Whitburn till his death in 1832; his name became inextricably linked with that town.⁷

While preaching in London during the winter of 1776-77,

1 Ibid.

2 Letters on Sanctification, by the Late Rev. John Brown of Whitburn; with A Memoir of his Life and Character by the Rev. David Smith, Biggar, (Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant & Son, 1834), pp. 6, 7.

3 Ibid., pp. 27-64.

4 Ibid., pp. 166-168.

5 Ibid., pp. 31-41.

6 Ibid., pp. 17-19, 80-93.

7 Ibid., pp. 163-165.

John Brown of Whitburn met Miss Isabella Cranston.¹ They were married by his father on June 22, 1779.² Isabella Cranston, a woman of singular beauty and deep piety, was five years younger than her husband.³ The daughter of a gardener, she had been born and brought up in Kelso, where she received the best education that the town could provide.⁴ Isabella was also given a thorough and strict religious education and was admitted to communion at the early age of twelve.⁵ She was always afflicted with feeble health and was by nature timid and retiring, but in that secluded area of the country, she brought honor to her position and gave glory to her God.⁶ Her eldest son benefited from the piety of his mother who shaped his character during the pliable years of youth.⁷

This son, later known as John Brown of Edinburgh, was born near Whitburn on July 12, 1784.⁸ Being a sickly baby at birth, he was not expected to live; his son, John Brown, M.D.,

1 Thomas Gibbons, Memoirs of Eminent Pious Women, Who were Ornaments of their Sex, Blessings to their Country, and Edifying Examples to the Church and World, edited by Samuel Burder, Vol. III. "Mrs. Isabella Brown," by John Brown, (2nd ed., London: 1815), p. 380.

2 Ibid., p. 382.

3 Ibid., p. 374.

4 Ibid., pp. 375, 376.

5 Ibid., p. 376.

6 Ibid., pp. 380-384.

7 Ibid., pp. 384-388.

8 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology, to the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1860), p. 1.

wrote, "My father was a seven months child, and lay, I believe for a fortnight in black wool, undressed, doing little but breathe and sleep, not capable of being fed."¹ But he struggled along through infancy and reached childhood with a delicate constitution. Never robust in health, he continued all his life slight in build, but he was lively and capable of great single efforts.² John's face and form strongly resembled his mother's, who possessed a personal beauty of an extraordinary kind.³ The records reveal that he was one of six children: Janet, Margaret, John, Ebenezer, George, and Violet.⁴ Janet and Ebenezer died in infancy. George, his junior by two years, afterwards became the Rev. George Brown of North Berwick.⁵

John's education began at home. He was instructed in elementary subjects by two relatives, James Henderson and Thomas Brown, who as students of divinity lived in his father's house and conducted a school in the vestry.⁶ At nine years of

1 John Brown, Supplementary Chapter to the Life of Rev. John Brown, D.D., A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861), pp. 105, 106.

2 Ibid., p. 106.

3 Ibid., p. 27.

4 Eric Nobbs, "The Family Tree of John Brown of Haddington", MSS, the possession of Mrs. Arthur H. Maclean, Edinburgh.

5 John Brown, (editor), Discourses on Interesting Subjects, by Rev. George Brown, of North Berwick; with a Memoir, (Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1844), pp. lff.

6 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 17. Afterwards these men became ministers of the Associate (Burgher) Synod, James Henderson in Hawick and Thomas Brown in Dalkeith.

age, he was placed under the care of Mr. Shaw in Whitburn, but he was shortly transferred to the parish school where he received his basic education.¹ Even as a young boy, he was keenly intelligent and soon rose to first place among his fellows.² Like many scholars and writers, he acquired a taste for books at a very early age; he was more often to be found reading than playing.³

His mother, who had carefully nurtured him in Christian truth and faith, died on June 8, 1795, when he was eleven years old.⁴ Her death made a deep, lasting impression upon young John, which his son describes:

There must have been something very delicate and close and exquisite in the relation between the ailing, silent, beautiful and pensive mother, and that dark-eyed, dark-haired, bright and silent son; a sort of communion it is not easy to express. You can think of him at eleven slowly writing out that small book of promises in a distinct and minute hand, quite as like his mature hand, as the shy, lustrous-eyed boy was to his after self in his manly years . . . and sitting by the bedside while the rest were out and shouting, playing at hide-and-seek round the little church His time with his mother, and the necessary confinement and bodily depression caused by it, I doubt not deepened his native thoughtful turn, and his tendency to meditative melancholy, as a condition under which he viewed all things, and quickened and intensified his sense of the suffering of this world, and of the profound seriousness and mystery in the midst of which we live and die.⁵

The intense grief that welled up within his heart was relieved

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p. 18.

3 Ibid., pp. 18, 19.

4 Thomas Gibbons, Memoirs of Eminent Pious Women, Vol. III, edited by Samuel Burder, "Mrs. Isabella Brown," by John Brown, (2nd ed. London, 1815), pp. 387, 388.

5 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 26, 27.

in the composition of a child-like history about her life and death.¹ It consisted mainly of extracts from his mother's diaries, a sketch of her character, and a report of her death bed sayings.² This first sketch, with some changes, was inserted by him, in 1815, in the second edition of Thomas Gibbon's Memoirs of Eminent Pious Women.³

When he was thirteen, John confirmed his baptismal vows by confessing his faith in God and in Jesus Christ His only Son and by receiving the bread and wine of Holy Communion for the first time.⁴ This was done not at Whitburn, but at Cambusnethan, a neighboring Associate Secession congregation to which he went with his father, who was invited to help serve the Lord's Supper.⁵

1 Thomas Gibbons, Memoirs of Eminent Pious Women, Vol. III, edited by Samuel Burder, "Mrs. Isabella Brown," by John Brown, (2nd ed., London, 1815), 374-388.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 21.

5 Ibid. Looking back in later days Brown described the way the Lord's Supper was celebrated in his youth: "In consequence of neighboring ministers assisting each other in the dispensation of the Lord's Supper great crowds used to assemble at the place where this ordinance was observed; and it was found necessary, as the church could contain but a small portion of them, to have a succession of sermons preached without doors, while the peculiar services of the day were going on within. In the evening it was customary to deliver the concluding sermon to the whole congregation in the open air. See John Brown's Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: David Brown, 1823), p. 223.

In 1797, John Brown of Whitburn married Miss Agnes Fletcher, the eldest daughter of the Rev. William Fletcher, Bridge of Teith.¹ In the same year, young John completed his studies at the parish school in Whitburn, and having decided to prepare for the ministry of the Associate Secession Church, he was sent by his father to the University of Edinburgh.²

II. HIS STUDENT DAYS (1797-1806)

John Brown began his studies at the University of Edinburgh in November 1797 at the tender age of thirteen, a phenomenon not uncommon in his day.³ Like many other students, Brown attended lectures but did not earn a degree, and consequently there is no evidence of his work in the official records of the University.⁴ Nevertheless, Cairns testifies that Brown studied Greek for two or three terms under Professor Dalziel, a fine scholar and teacher; Latin under Professor Hill; and Logic under Professor Finlayson.⁵ Of these professors, Dr. Hill was the least successful teacher. In the

¹ Letters on Sanctification, by the Late Rev. John Brown, Whitburn, with a Memoir of His Life and Character, by the Rev. David Smith, Biggar, (Edinburgh: 1834), p. 11.

² "Dr. Brown's Life and Work," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (August-November, 1860), pp. 24, 25.

³ Dictionary of National Biography, edited by Leslie Stephen, Vol. VII, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886), p. 18.

⁴ See Edinburgh University Matriculation Rolls, Arts, Law, Divinity, MS., Vol. II, 1775-1810; Edinburgh University List of Students, 1791-1800, MS. (University of Edinburgh Library).

⁵ John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 25-28.

Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., Coldstream, a contemporary student and friend of Brown's, Peter Landreth says of Hill,

He had great stores of learning, but showed little judgment in dispensing out of these to his pupils, who, when they should have been receiving solid instruction and systematic guidance, were often entertained with dull essays on nice points and vexed questions The class was without discipline, the wild boys from the High School being the only masters; and their tricks of fun and mischief could scarcely have been more frequent and daring, if the Chair had been vacant.¹

It is very doubtful that John entered into this fun, for even as a boy he was serious, reticent, and courteous.² Nor was he likely to have been discouraged by the Professor's tedious style of tuition since he was a sober, industrious student,³ and bent on Latin scholarship.⁴ At the same time Brown must have been favorably influenced by Professor Dalziel, who admirably conducted the Greek class. Lord Cockburn, in his Memorials of His Time, describes Andrew Dalziel as "mild,

1 Peter Landreth, Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., Coldstream, And His Labours for Free and Cheap Bible Printing, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1869), pp. 80, 81; Henry Cockburn says of Hill's class: "But the mischief was that little Latin was acquired. The class was a constant scene of unchecked idleness, and disrespectful mirth. Our time was worse than lost." See Cockburn's Memorials of His Time, pp. 18, 19.

2 John Brown, A Letter to John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 26, 28, 30.

3 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "Letter" by Principal John Lee, (Edinburgh: A. & A. Padon, 1856), pp. 51, 52.

4 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed. London: Wm. Ball, 1839), p. 215.

affectionate, simple; an absolute enthusiast about learning, particularly classical, and especially Greek; with an innocence of soul and of manner which imparted an air of honest kindness to whatever he said or did"1 Brown, however, was most strongly influenced by James Finlayson, Professor of Logic, who first stirred his mental powers into earnest and regulated activity, teaching him to reason well. Cockburn pens this description of Finlayson:

He was a grim, firm-set, dark, clerical man; stiff and precise in his movements; with a distressing pair of black piercing, Jesuitical eyes, which moved slowly, and rested long on any one they turned to, as if he intended to look him down, and knew that he could do so; a severe and formidable person.²

The course which Finlayson adopted in his class was "first to classify, and explain the nature of, the different faculties, and then to point out proper modes of using and improving them. This, though not logic, was the first thing that awakened our dormant powers."³ The most distinguished and popular lecturer at the University was Dugald Stewart, Professor of Moral Philosophy.⁴ Unfortunately, John was deterred from attending this celebrated lecturer by his father, who narrow-mindedly judged teachers of moral philosophy to be little better than

1 Henry Cockburn's Memorials of His Time, (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 19.

2 Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp. 22-26.

baptized pagans.¹ In spite of his father's interdict, he developed a passionate interest in Stewart's thought and zealously studied all of his published writings.²

During his student days at the University, he established a friendship with several men, who afterwards became quite prominent in their particular field. Among these he greatly valued the friendship of the Rev. Dr. Hugh Heugh,³ minister of the Regent Place United Secession Church of Glasgow, the Rev. Dr. John Lee,⁴ Principal of Edinburgh University, and Adam Black, Esq.,⁵ Member of Parliament for Edinburgh. In 1856, on the occasion of Brown's jubilee in the ministry, Principal Lee described the younger student in this interesting manner:

I had the happiness of becoming acquainted with Dr. Brown in the year 1800. By that time I believe that he was sixteen years of age, and had been three years at college. I had been six years a student, and had not the reputation of being idle; but well do I remember how strongly I was impressed with the proofs which he exhibited of great maturity of intellect, and remarkable power of giving expression to his thoughts in clear and felicitous language, more attractive to my fastidious taste than even the kind enchantment of his speaking eyes. Pleasing as this aspect was and cheerful as was his conversation, it

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Work," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (August-November, 1860), p. 32.

2 Ibid.

3 John Brown, Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1846), p. 69.

4 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "Letter" by Principal John Lee, (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 51, 52; See also National Library of Scotland, "Lee Papers, Correspondence, 1835-1837," MS., 3441, and "Lee Papers, Correspondence, 1843-1844," MS., 3444.

5 Alexander Nicolson, (editor), Memoirs of Adam Black, (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885), pp. 15-17.

required no great amount of penetration to perceive that the amenity of his manner, and his other engaging accomplishments, were all subordinate to the love of truth and soberness, the earnest pursuit of solid and spiritual knowledge, the admiration of things superlatively excellent, and the ascendancy of Christian principle exercised in labours of love.¹

John Brown completed his studies at the University in April 1800 before he was sixteen;² as a result, the real maturation of his mind must have followed these first student days. He was immediately employed to teach school in the village of Elie on the eastern coast of Fife, where he continued for three years.³ His son, John Brown, M.D., tells of the troubles that beset him as a young school-master:

The second epoch was that of his leaving home with his guinea, the last he ever got from any one but himself; and his going among utter strangers to be master of a school one-half of the scholars of which were bigger and older than himself, this knit the sinews of his mind, and made him rely on himself in action as well as in thought From his young and slight, almost girlish look, and his refined, quiet manners, the boys of the school were inclined to annoy and bully him. He saw this, and took his line. The biggest boy, much older and stronger was the rudest, and infected the rest. The "wee maister" ordered him in that peremptory voice we all remember, to stand up and hold out his hand, being not at all sure but the big fellow might knock him down on the word. To the astonishment of the school, and to the big rebel's too, he obeyed and was punished on the instant, and to the full; out went the hand, down came the "taws," and bit like fire. From that moment he ruled them by his eye, the taws vanished.⁴

1 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "Letter" by Principal John Lee, (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 51, 52.

2 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII. (August-November, 1860), p. 24.

3 Ibid.

4 John Brown, A Letter to John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed. Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 28, 29.

Out of this trying experience, he gained a feeling of self-reliance that remained with him permanently.

John Brown grew up in an age that was beset by war. The French Revolution broke out in 1789; the Reign of Terror began in 1792 during which many thousands of people were killed.¹ The writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and Paine were read by all classes of people and the foundations of religious beliefs were seriously shaken.² Europe was plunged into a bloody war and Britain was unhappily drawn into the conflict.³ The conquests of Napoleon and the victories of Nelson were current events of Brown's student days. In October 1801, a brief respite from war was won for Europe by the Peace of Amiens.⁴

In August 1800, John Brown entered the Associate (Burgher) Divinity Hall at Selkirk.⁵ The Divinity Hall had been moved to Selkirk in 1787 when Rev. George Lawson, minister of the Associate congregation in Selkirk, was appointed Professor of Theology by the Associate Synod.⁶ Professor Lawson was

1 The Cambridge Modern History, The French Revolution, Vol. VIII, "The Terror" by J.R. Moreton Macdonald, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1904), pp. 338-371.

2 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland from the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1882), pp. 400, 401.

3 Robert Mackenzie, The Nineteenth Century, (15th ed., London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1909), pp. 20, 21.

4 The Cambridge Modern History, Napoleon, Vol. IX, "The Pacification of Europe 1799-1802," by Anton Guillaud, (Cambridge: 1906), pp. 75-80.

5 "Dr. Brown's Life and Work," The North British Review, (August-November), pp. 24, 25.

6 P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, In Its Changes and Enlargements for One Hundred and Forty Years, (Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant and Co., 1876), p. 179.

deeply revered by his students over whom he exercised an enduring influence.¹ Brown's veneration of his professor was equal to that of his fellows, for he later characterized him as a man,

. . . in whom met strong natural talent, extensive and varied professional learning, originality of views, soundness of mind, strict integrity, deep devotion, child-like simplicity, unaffected humility, and kindness of heart, in rare, and . . . in singular union. To have enjoyed the advantage of the tuition and friendship of this truly great and good man, I count one of the principal blessings and honors of my life, and I have a melancholy satisfaction in thus recording the indelible impression made on my mind by so much erudition and wisdom, worth, and benevolence.²

The plan of Professor Lawson's theological course was "simple and judicious."³ After a liberal course of literary and philosophical studies at the University, students were required by the Associate Synod, to attend the Divinity Hall for five sessions.⁴ Each session, however, lasted only nine weeks and fell in August and September. The Professor delivered lectures on theoretical and practical Divinity; the students were regularly examined on these lectures.⁵ It was

1 Ibid., pp. 180, 181; P. Landreth, Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., pp. 116, 117; John Macfarlane, The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D., Selkirk, Professor of Theology to the Associate Synod, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. 311-352.

2 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, Especially in the Payment of Tribute, (Edinburgh: 1838), p. 73.

3 "The Life of Dr. George Lawson," by Andrew Lothian, Christian Repository and Religious Register, Vol. V, 1820, April, pp. 194-221.

4 John Macfarlane, The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1862), p. 279.

5 Ibid.

also his custom to make his students read with him and critically analyse a part of Scripture in Hebrew and Greek; he thus encouraged diligent study of Hebrew and Greek and the practical exposition of Scripture.¹ Of the student's assignments, Rev. Andrew Lothian wrote,

During the course of his first session of attendance, every student was required to prepare and deliver a homily on a subject assigned him by the Professor; and to prepare generally two, and sometimes three discourses, each of the four sessions Of these discourses some were lectures, others sermons, some critical, and others practical, and one or more of them popular, to be delivered not only before the Professor and the students, but before the people who chose to attend. Before delivering his own remarks on these discourses, the Professor gave every student who chose, an opportunity of offering his criticisms on what he had heard. Veneration for the enlightened and liberal tutor was found sufficient, in almost every instance, to prevent hasty and uncandid remarks.²

Landreth relates that once when John Brown delivered a sermon to the Hall, he was criticized sharply by his close friend, Adam Thomson, who seasoned his criticism with "a little playful satire against the half-philosophical, half-poetical garb in which the young preacher chose to clothe his religious doctrine" ³ The Professor substantially sanctioned the strictures; the preacher was at first a little hurt. But the friendship between the critic and preacher was not inter-

¹ Ibid.

² "The Life of Dr. George Lawson," by Andrew Lothian, Christian Repository and Religious Register, Vol. V., (April, 1820), pp. 198-204.

³ P. Landreth, Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1869), pp. 128, 129.

rupted; when Brown occupied the Professor's chair, discourses that contained much of the style which he had himself once displayed, were denounced as "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."¹

After each session at the Divinity Hall, Brown returned to his teaching in Elie. He helped to organize a theological society among the divinity students who were teaching in nearby villages.² Desiring to improve themselves in divinity, they met monthly to criticize each other's essays and discourses. In a period of little more than two years, Brown delivered to this society six exercises, consisting of sermons, lectures, and essays; this undoubtedly became the practical training ground for his more formal theological education.³ Resigning his school position at Elie in April 1803, Brown next moved to Glasgow, where he assumed the duties of a private tutor.⁴ This change greatly enlarged his circle of society; he was introduced to several families with whom he afterwards became well acquainted.⁵

John Brown completed his studies at the Divinity Hall in September 1804; he went to live with the Rev. Michael Gilfillan, of Dunblane, a relative of his father's second

1 Ibid., p. 129.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 41.

3 Ibid.

4 John Brown, Memoir of Mrs. Margaret-Fisher Brown (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1841), p. 17.

5 Ibid., Two of these families were: Dr. and Mrs. William Nimmo and Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Crum.

wife.¹ Of this place and period in his life, he afterwards wrote,

. . . Dunblane, a place . . . rendered peculiarly interesting to me, as the residence of a most venerable and amiable clerical friend, now with the "blessed who have died in the Lord," in whose hospitable mansion and under whose wise and kind superintendence, I spent some of the most important months of my life, these which immediately preceded my becoming a preacher of the Gospel.²

He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Presbytery of Stirling and Falkirk on February 12, 1805.³ After a short probation, Brown received calls from Associate Secession congregations in Biggar and Stirling.⁴ At that time, the Synod held the power of deciding in cases of competing calls; accordingly, each congregation presented its claim to the Synod in September 1805.⁵ The call from Stirling was signed by 937 members, whereas "Biggar had only 118."⁶ But in the Synod, John Brown of Whitburn pleaded earnestly for the smaller congregation as better suited to his son's inexperience, and the majority vote was cast for Biggar.⁷ Six months,

1 John Brown, Notes on an Excursion into the Highlands of Scotland, in Autumn 1818, (Edinburgh: 1819), pp. 4-7.

2 Ibid., p. 4.

3 William Hunter, Biggar and The House of Fleming, An Account of the Biggar District, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1868), p. 266.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: 1904), p. 407.

7 Letters on Sanctification, by the Late Rev. John Brown Whitburn, with A Memoir of His Life and Character, by the Rev. David Smith, Biggar, (Edinburgh: 1834), p. 140.

however, elapsed between the decision of Synod and his ordination in Biggar; in October 1805, like his father, he was sent to supply the Wells Street congregation in London.¹

War broke out again in May 1803. Napoleon prepared to invade Britain by assembling on the shores of the Channel 150,000 men with 2,000 boats for their transport.² All Britain was aroused to the threat of invasion; "Edinburgh," Lord Cockburn relates, "like every other place became a military camp and continued so till the peace in 1814. We were all soldiers, one way or other."³ The threat of invasion passed while Brown was in London. On October 21, 1805, the British Navy under Nelson met and seriously defeated the combined fleets of Napoleon off Cape Trafalgar.⁴ This great triumph established Britain's supremacy on the sea and gave the British people assurance of their safety from the invader.⁵

III. THE BIGGAR MINISTRY (1806-1822)

Biggar in Brown's day was a small, yet picturesque and ancient town which lay among the hills, twenty-eight miles south

¹ John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 62.

² The Cambridge Modern History, Napoleon, Vol. IX., "The Command of the Sea," by H.W. Wilson, (Cambridge: 1906), pp. 212-217.

³ Henry Cockburn, Memorials of His Time, (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 186, 187.

⁴ The Cambridge Modern History, Napoleon, Vol. IX., "The Command of the Sea," by H.W. Wilson, (Cambridge: 1906), pp. 228-233.

⁵ Ibid., p. 234.

west of Edinburgh.¹ In 1806, its population numbered about 1200;² in addition to the Biggar Parish Church which dated back to the sixth century, there were two other congregations.³ The congregation of the Relief Church had been founded in 1781,⁴ whereas the Associate Secession congregation had been formed in 1754.⁵ The Rev. John Low had been Brown's predecessor in the Secession congregation; during the latter years of Low's ministry, the congregation was in a state of decline but did not number less than 300 communicants.⁶

John Brown was ordained in Biggar by the Associate Secession Presbytery of Lanark on February 6, 1806;⁷ on account of a severe snow storm, only three ministers of the presbytery and his father were present.⁸ The latter preached the ordination sermon on I Corinthians 1: 17, in which he warned his son against using the "wisdom of words" in preaching the

1 W.S. Crockett, Biggar: Historical, Traditional and Descriptive, (Biggar: James B. Watson, 1900), pp. xv, xvi, 1-18.

2 Francis H. Groome, (editor), Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland, A Graphic and Accurate Description of Every Place in Scotland, (Edinburgh: 1901), pp. 155, 156.

3 William Hunter, Biggar and the House of Fleming, An Account of the Biggar District, Archaeological, Historical, and Biographical, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1867), pp. 164-209, 262-288.

4 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: 1904), pp. 409-411.

5 Ibid., pp. 407-408.

6 Ibid., p. 407.

7 Ibid.

8 Hunter, op. cit., pp. 266, 267.

gospel.¹ In an affectionate letter written immediately after the ordination the father offered his son this advice:

When God has set you among a respectable and loving people, I hope you will do your utmost as to their souls. Be deeply concerned about your own soul. This will fill you with concern for others. Read the Word of God much, and be regular and frequent in secret prayer. Be more acquainted with evangelical and practical divinity, such as Ebenezer Erskine's, Dr. Owen's, Trail's, &c. . . . Dress as neatly as you please in your sermons, but let the matter be solid and savoury. Be kind and affable to all. Be diligent among the young . . . Always speak of Mr. Low with esteem and reverence. He was a very worthy minister of Christ . . .²

Mr. Brown was a popular preacher and diligent pastor; under his ministry, the Associate congregation in Biggar, later known as Moat Park, prospered.³ New members increased the membership to 400. His little church was filled every Sunday by an attentive congregation to whom he preached discourses that had been carefully prepared.⁴ All his public discourses, prayers, and casual addresses were written out in full and delivered from memory, for he shied away from extemporaneous speech.⁵ In a short time, a new church and a new manse were built to replace the old ones.⁶ The young minister received a

1 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 58.

2 Letters by the Late Rev. John Brown, Whitburn; with a Memoir of His Life and Character, by Rev. David Smith, (Edinburgh: 1834), pp. 15, 16.

3 William Hunter, Biggar and the House of Fleming, pp. 267, 268.

4 Ibid.

5 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (August-November, 1860), p. 30.

6 Hunter, op. cit., p. 268. In 1866, a new church was built in Moat Park, during the ministry of Dr. David Smith.

stipend of £90 with manse, garden, and a small piece of ground.¹

In August 1807, he married Miss Jane Nimmo, a daughter of Dr. William Nimmo of Glasgow, whom he met while tutoring in that City.² Their marriage was blessed with four children: Janet, John, Isabella, and William.³ In later years, his sons became medical doctors; John, the eldest, set up practice in Edinburgh, whereas William settled in Melrose.⁴ Janet married Mr. James Young; Isabella remained a spinster and cared for her father in his old age.⁵

In addition to the work of his own church, Brown preached in barns, school-rooms, and in the open air on pleasant summer evenings. His son John, in A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., tells of an exciting experience that his father had one Sunday evening:

He had an engagement to preach somewhere beyond the Clyde on a Sabbath evening, and his excellent and attached friend and elder, Mr. Kello of Lindsay-lands, accompanied him on his big plough horse. It was to be in the open air, on the river side. When they got to the Clyde they found it in full flood, heavy and sudden rains at the head of the water having brought it down in a wild spate. On the opposite side were the gathered people and the tent. Before Mr. Kello knew where he was, there was his minister

1 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: 1904), p. 407.

2 Eric Nobbs, "The Family Tree of John Brown of Haddington," MSS, The possession of Mrs. Arthur H. Maclean, Edinburgh.

3 Ibid.

4 Alexander Peddie, Recollections of Dr. John Brown, Author of 'Rab and His Friends,' etc., (Edinburgh: 1894), pp. 21, 22.

5 E.T. M'Laren, Dr. John Brown and His Sisters Isabella and Jane, (6th ed., Edinburgh. Adam & Charles Black, 1901), pp. 30ff.

on the mare swimming across, and carried down in a long diagonal, the people looking on in terror. He landed, shook himself, and preached with his usual fervour.¹

This extra preaching elicited a caustic pamphlet from a minister of the Church of Scotland who denounced Brown as "a recruiting serjeant," whose only purpose in the open-air-meetings was to obtain converts to the Secession Church.² The critic, however, did not present all the facts, for Brown, unlike other Secession ministers, practised open communion and permitted members of the Church of Scotland to worship and commune in his church, while holding their membership in the parish church.³

Mr. Brown, in 1814, originated a minister's library in Biggar, an altogether new scheme in the Associate Secession Church.⁴ It was to be the property of the congregation, but its care and improvement was under the supervision of the minister. In 1852, the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church adopted the idea and began to establish ministers' libraries; by 1863, there were 180 libraries in the Church.⁵

Quiet study characterized the first years in Biggar, but in 1815 Brown appeared before the public as an author. His first work was a lengthy review of Rev. James Yates' A

1 John Brown, A Letter to John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 35, 36.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 69.

3 Ibid., p. 70.

4 William Hunter, Biggar and the House of Fleming, p. 268.

5 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, 1853, pp. 488, 489; 1863, p. 637.

Vindication of Unitarianism which he published as Strictures on Mr. Yates' Vindication of Unitarianism.¹ Strictures, like many of Brown's writings, contributes little that is original to the questions and arguments of the controversy. The sarcastic asperity which marked these criticisms, was not in keeping with Brown's kind, gentle, almost timid nature;² Cairns attests that in later years the author regretted his denunciatory tone.³ The work is noteworthy only because it was his first as an author and controversialist. A second work, Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper, was published by Brown in 1816.⁴ In these discourses, Brown's teaching does not deviate even a little from the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as set down in the Westminster Confession of Faith and as propounded at greater length by Calvin in the Institutes of the Christian Religion.⁵ While these sermons reveal careful preparation, and a clear, concise style, they lack the warmth and spontaneity of his later discourses.

At this time, a significant change was wrought in

1 John Brown, Strictures on Mr. Yates' Vindication of Unitarianism, In Reply to Mr. Wardlaw's Discourses on the Socinian Controversy, (Glasgow: 1815), pp. i-v.

2 Ibid., pp. 2-70.

3 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., p. 74.

4 John Brown, Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper, (Edinburgh: David Brown, 1816), pp. i-vii.

5 Ibid., pp. 3-343; cf., Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. xxix. and Institutes of the Christian Religion, by John Calvin, trans. by Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, bk. IV, chap. xvii, pp. 555-605.

Brown's life and ministry. His wife died unexpectedly on May 28, 1816.¹ Of this his son says,

My mother's death was the second epoch in my father's life; it marked a change at once and for life; and for a man so self-reliant, so poised upon a centre of his own, it is wonderful the extent of change it made. He went home, preached her funeral sermon, every one in the church in tears, himself outwardly unmoved.²

Her death cast a shadow across his life which his children felt keenly:

The manse became silent; we lived and slept and played under the shadow of that death, and we saw, or rather felt, that he was another father than before. No more happy laughter from the two in the parlour, as he was reading Larry, the Irish postboy's letter in Miss Edgeworth's tale, or the last Waverley novel He went among his people as usual when they were ill; he preached better than ever, they were sometimes frightened to think how wonderfully he preached; but the sunshine was over, the glad and careless look, the joy of young life and mutual love. He was little with us, and, as I said, the house was still, except when he was mandating his sermons for Sabbath. This he always did, not only viva voce, but with as much energy and loudness as in the pulpit; we felt his voice was sharper, and rang keen through the house.³

A remarkable change also occurred in Brown's preaching after his wife's death. The "scholastic phrase" and "juvenile ornament" of his first years were discarded; his preaching became "more and more wealthy in evangelical statement and unction" and contained a more intense devotional spirit.⁴ His zeal for

1 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., pp. 6, 7.

2 Ibid., p. 10.

3 Ibid., p. 12.

4 "Dr. Brown's Life and Work," The North British Review, XXXIII, (August-November), p. 29.

exegesis was now kindled, and he eagerly and earnestly searched for the central truth of each passage of Scripture that he might impart it to his congregation.¹

New Lanark, the scene of Robert Owen's first social experiment, was only eleven miles from Biggar;² in 1817, Brown published a review of Owen's A New View of Society: or Essays on the Principles of the Formation of Human Character.³ As part owner and manager of the New Lanark Cotton Mills, Owen, reduced the hours of work, paid wages and abstained from dismissals during a period of business stagnation, established a sick fund, a savings-bank, and a store which supplied goods at wholesale prices, and built a school in which the children of his workers were taught by object-lesson, nature study, song, and dance.⁴ Drunkenness and illegitimacy were greatly reduced, and all the while the business prospered.⁵ In essence, Owen's philosophy was that environment is the cause of the differences in character, and environment is under human control.⁶ While praising the practical social achievements of New Lanark, Brown

1 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., pp. 13-17.

2 Robert H. Murray, Studies in the English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century, Vol. I, (Cambridge: 1929), pp. 135-142.

3 John Brown, Remarks on the Plans and Publications of Robert Owen, Esq., of New Lanark, (Edinburgh: 1817), pp. 1-60.

4 C.R. Fay, Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century, (Cambridge: 1920), pp. 55-58.

5 Ibid.

6 Robert Owen, A New View of Society: or Essays on the Principles of the Formation of the Human Character, etc., (2nd ed. London: 1813-14), pp. 107-118.

criticizes Owen's philosophy.¹ He accepts the truth that environment exerts a large influence in forming the character, but categorically denies that man's character is altogether formed for him by the environment.² The individual according to Brown does have an active part in forming his own character; he remarks that,

. . . every scheme for the moral education of mankind, which does not go on the supposition of a decided bias in human nature towards error and vice, nor provide means for its counteraction, must be radically defective.³

The powerful counteracting influence of human depravity, which Owen allots no room in his system and which Brown rightly considers to be absolutely essential in the formation of good character, is the grace of God.⁴ The weakness of Owen's new system, as Brown points out, is that it relies only upon moral means for the renovation of mankind, a task in which God the Creator is also needed.⁵ When Brown's Remarks caught the eye of Mr. Owen, he invited the critic to visit New Lanark, but his visit did little to change the ideas of either man.⁶

From 1816-1820, Brown edited The Christian Repository and Religious Register, a newly established monthly magazine.⁷

1 John Brown, Remarks on the Plans and Publication of Robert Owen, pp. 4, 5, 37, 53.

2 Ibid., p. 26-29.

3 Ibid., p. 30.

4 Ibid., pp. 31-37.

5 Ibid., pp. 56, 57.

6 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 82.

7 The Christian Repository and Religious Register, ed. by John Brown, (Edinburgh: David Brown) 1816-1820, vols. I-V.

It was founded to defend the principles of dissent and to provide a theological outlet for the Associate Secession Church.¹ As editor, Brown bore the irritations and anxieties that accompany a religious periodical which is poorly supported and thanklessly received. However, he was successful in perusading a few of the most talented men of his denomination to write for the magazine; their contributions helped to raise the quality of the periodical.² Some of the better papers were: "On the Popery of Protestants," by Dr. Lawson and "On Sacred Zoology" by Dr. Peddie; such critical essays as On Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses by Dr. Marshall of Kirkintilloch and Hall's Terms of Communion by Dr. Balmer of Berwick.³ Numerous articles and reviews were written by Brown; they display fullness of knowledge and vigour of judgment. When the Associate and General Associate Synods united in 1820, this magazine was merged with the General Associate's periodical; the new publication was called The Christian Monitor and was edited by Brown until 1826.⁴

In the summer of 1817, Brown was called by the newly-formed congregation of North Leith, but the Associate Synod

1 The Christian Repository and Religious Register, ed. by John Brown, vol. I. 1816, p. i-v.

2 John MacFarlane, The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. 323-327.

3 The Christian Repository and Religious Register, ed. by John Brown, vols. I-V. 1816-1820.

4 The Christian Monitor, ed. by John Brown, (Edinburgh: 1821-1826). vols. I-V.

complied with his request and permitted him to remain at Biggar.¹ The most valuable of all his writings in this period was his treatise, On Religion and the Means of Its Attainment,² which appeared in 1818 and passed through six editions during his lifetime. His purpose was to free religion from the artificial language of human systems and to explain the nature of religion in terms that were intelligible to all.³ He defined religion as right thinking, right feeling, and right action towards God.⁴ Faith, which is nothing more nor less than belief in the content of revelation, is the necessary and effectual means of attaining true religion.⁵ Faith is secured by diligent study of the meaning and evidence of the truth which is to be believed and by the work of the Holy Spirit.⁶ To Brown faith was only an act of belief, intellectual assent to evidence.⁷ This view of Christianity was wholly one-sided and coldly intellectual, for it ignored the emotional and instinctive elements of faith, neglecting faith as trust and as faithfulness. Despite this apparent deficiency, faith, as understood by Brown, met the conditions of religion as defined by him; the treatise was

1 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, vol. II, p. 408.

2 John Brown, On Religion, and the Means of Its Attainment, 1st ed. (Edinburgh: 1818), pp. i-iv.

3 Ibid., pp. v, vi.

4 Ibid., pp. 7-12.

5 Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

6 Ibid., pp. 31-38.

7 Ibid., pp. 36-38.

both orderly and lucid.

The Associate Secession Synod in 1818 selected Brown as its first deputy to visit the Highlands and to evangelize in their name.¹ He fulfilled this appointment in the autumn of 1818, and afterwards published a descriptive account of his missionary tour, as Notes on an Excursion into the Highlands of Scotland.² Entering the Highlands by Comrie, he proceeded by Killin and Kenmore to Glenlyon and returned by Glendochart and Loch Lomond to Glasgow.³ During the course of his Highland excursion, Brown preached twelve discourses "to audiences more or less numerous and distributed a thousand tracts and catechisms in English and Gaelic."⁴ At the end of his Notes, he warmly urged his denomination to continue this system of itinerant preaching,⁵ but the work was not continued. Brown recorded this interesting note about his preaching to Highland audiences:

I was much pleased to learn that the people generally understood me. Some even of those least accustomed to the English language remarked, 'that they knew almost every word, for that minister does not preach grammar.' When a minister preaches in English so as that they do not understand him, they say he preaches grammar. I took the expression as they meant it, and considered it as a high compliment. It in some measure relieved me from a fear, that had hung about me, that from my not being able

1 John Brown, Notes on an Excursion into the Highlands of Scotland, in Autumn 1818, (Edinburgh: 1819), p. v.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., pp. 7, 8, 11, 22, 23, 64, 67, 68, 73, 76, 77.

4 Ibid., p. 78.

5 Ibid., pp. 80, 81, 84, 85, 87, 88.

to make the people understand me, my preaching in the north would be but a 'beating the air.'¹

From the beginning of his ministry, Brown regularly attended the meetings of the presbytery to which he belonged and the Synod.² Though he frequently served on committees of presbytery and Synod, he rarely addressed either one of them. His son offers this explanation:

Men's argument, or rather arguing, and above all debating, he disliked. He had no turn for it. He was not combative, much less contentious. He was, however, warlike. Anything that he could destroy, any falsehood or injustice, he made for, not to discuss, but to expose and kill. He could not fence with his mind much less with his tongue, and had no love for the exploits of a nimble dialectic.³

When Brown did speak in the church courts, his opinions were always carefully weighed and emphatically expressed. In September 1818, the Associate Secession Synod elected him to be their Moderator. And when he gave up his moderatorship in April 1819, he preached on Joshua 13:1, "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," which was later published under the title, On the State of Scotland in Reference to the Means of Religious Instruction.⁴ His frank statements about the deficiencies of the Church of Scotland in the cities,

1 Ibid., p. 63.

2 Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 71.

3 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., 2nd ed., p. 48.

4 John Brown, On the State of Scotland in Reference to the Means of Religious Instruction, (Edinburgh: 1819), pp. 1, 2.

Lowlands, and Highlands, offended some people in the National Church and led most of the parish church members, who attended his services in Biggar to withdraw.¹ The Rev. Alexander Craik, minister of Libberton, wrote a defense of the Church of Scotland which was answered by Robert Johnston, brother-in-law to Brown, who lived in Biggar.² Actually, Brown's sermon was marked by a spirit of moderation and contained little sectarian bitterness,³ but such criticisms should have been expressed by a parish minister rather than a Seceder. Brown's standing in the Associate Secession Synod at this time can be gathered from the testimony of Dr. Bruce of Newmilns, who belonged to the General Associate Secession Church:

'One day, more than forty years ago, and prior to the union between the two great branches of the Secession, I looked in on a meeting of the Associate Synod, and there for the first time I saw Dr. Brown, in the midst of his brethren. All of them with a few exceptions, were strangers to me; but his fine countenance, beaming with intelligence, and glowing with Christian benignity, arrested my attention, drew forth my admiration, and made me single him out as the one who ere long should be princeps inter pares.'⁴

When Professor Lawson died in February 1820, Brown was one of several ministers who was nominated as a candidate for

¹ Ibid., pp. 3-10; Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., p. 92.

² Robert Johnston, A Letter of Congratulations to the Rev. Alexander Craik, Minister of Libberton, on his Defence of the Established Church, in his Letter to John Brown, Minister of the Associate Congregation, Biggar, (Edinburgh: 1820), pp. 1-39.

³ John Brown, On the State of Scotland in Reference to the Means of Religious Instruction, pp. 1-10.

⁴ John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., p. 93.

Professor of Theology.¹ And though he was not chosen, the support which many of his fellow-ministers gave to him was a high tribute.²

Alongside his work as an author, editor, and presbyter, Brown loyally supported the Missionary and Bible societies of Scotland. In 1816, he preached the annual sermon before the Edinburgh Missionary Society which afterwards became the Scottish Missionary Society.³ His sermon was titled The Danger of Opposing Christianity, and the Certainty of Its Final Triumph.⁴ The Scottish Missionary Society sent a deputation to England in February and March 1819 to solicit the aid of the Christian public.⁵ The deputation included the following: Rev. Henry Grey of Buccleuch Church, Edinburgh, Dr. Beatie of Kincardine, Dr. Dickson of the West Kirk, Edinburgh, Mr. Lidde, an elder in Buccleuch Church, Edinburgh, and John Brown.⁶ At the Jubilee Services of Dr. Brown in 1856, Dr. Henry Grey outlined their activities:

We spent some weeks in the metropolis London, preaching in many places and holding meetings, where we had the valued help of the venerable Dr. Waugh, and of the

1 Minutes of the Associate Synod, April, 1820.

2 Ibid.

3 John Brown, The Danger of Opposing Christianity, and the Certainty of Its Final Triumph, (Edinburgh: 1816), pp. i, ii.

4 Ibid. This sermon was printed at the request of the Edinburgh Missionary Society.

5 Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, for 1819, with An Appendix, Containing Extracts of Correspondence and other Documents, (Edinburgh: 1819), pp. 33, 34, 71, 74, 99-105.

6 Ibid., pp. 72, 73.

*Since 1847 now in the 7th edition
J. L. C.*

excellent Wm. Wilberforce, Charles Grant, Lewis Way, and similar characters. And in all these services, our guest of this evening took a leading and effective part. After this, dividing our forces, we visited various towns in England; and I recollect at Liverpool, I was not only associated with our friend, but identified: for he preaching, I think, where I was expected to preach, was taken for me, while I was taken for him, so it became a joke with us, that Brown had become Grey, and Grey Brown: a jeu d'esprit which I enjoyed, as all in favour of my reputation.¹

The deputation returned to Scotland with 3000 pounds for the Scottish Missionary Society.² Dr. Henry Grey, (a minister of the Free Church of Scotland,) also made this interesting observation:

that that Society was a happy band of union between the Secession Church and the Establishment; the ordination of the missionaries being obtained from the Secession, while individual members of the Establishment took part in its Committee, and in the regulation of its affairs: it was, in fact, the only point in which, at that time, my friend and I could publicly unite in the service of the Great Master.³

In May 1821, Brown was again in London.⁴ On this occasion, he preached one of the anniversary sermons to the London Missionary Society.⁵

1 The Jubilee Services, of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "The Reward of the Faithful Minister of Christ, here and hereafter," by Henry Grey, (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 91, 92.

2 Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, for 1819, pp. 99-106. Brown visited the following places in England on this tour: Bath, Bristol, Liverpool, London, Nailsworth, Shortwood, Stroud.

3 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "The Reward of the Faithful Minister of Christ, here and hereafter," by Henry Grey, pp. 91, 92.

4 John Brown, On the Duty of Pecuniary Contribution to Religious Purposes, A Sermon, Preached before the London Missionary Society, at Tottenham Court Chapel, On Thursday Evening, May 10, 1821. (London: 1821), pp. 1-3.

5 Ibid., pp. 1-42.

The Associate (Burgher) and General Associate (Anti-burgher) Synods, which in 1747 separated over the burghess oath, in 1820 agreed to abstain from agitating this divisive question and united to form the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church.¹ While supporting the Basis of Union as a whole, Brown led a small party that vigorously objected to several parts of the new Formula to be used at ordination of ministers, which they felt were too narrow and likely to repress Christian liberty.² They firmly disapproved of the oath of assent to the Westminster Confession of Faith, which was required in question two:

Q. II. Do you acknowledge the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, as the Confession of YOUR FAITH, expressive of the sense in which you understand the Scriptures; and do you resolve, through Divine Grace, firmly and constantly to adhere to the doctrine contained in the said Confession and Catechisms, and to assert and defend it to the utmost of your power against all contrary errors; it being always understood that you are not required to approve of any thing in these books which teaches, or may be supposed to teach, compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion?³

They likewise disapproved of the expression in question three that the "Presbyterian Form of Government" is the "only form of Church Government which" is "founded upon, and agreeable to, the Word of God."⁴ They declared,

¹ Minutes of the First Meeting of the United Associate Synod, September, 1820, pp. 3-13.

² Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

³ Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

. . . it is not stated in Scripture with such clearness and fulness, as to authorise any Church to demand an assent to it, as an indispensable qualification, either for membership or office.¹

Lastly they disapproved of the first part of the fourth question which read: "Are you persuaded that public religious Vowing or Covenanting is a moral duty, to be practised when the circumstances of Providence require it?"² The objectors could only register their protest against those parts of Formula which they disapproved in 1820, but in 1847, Brown had the satisfaction of seeing several of these grievances removed when the Secession united with the Relief to form the United Presbyterian Church.³

With his name and work constantly before the people of the Secession Church, it was not surprising that Brown received a call from Rose Street Church, Edinburgh, in 1822.⁴ The United Associate Synod voted to translate him from Biggar (now Moat Park) to Rose Street (now Palmerston Place) on May 1, 1822.⁵ The Biggar congregation reluctantly and regretfully gave up their talented young minister. On the occasion of his Jubilee Services in 1856, Brown said of his first ministry: "Biggar was much endeared to me, as the scenes of very sweet enjoyments, and very deep sorrows. 'The dews of youth' lay

1 Ibid., p. 14.

2 Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, October, 1846, pp. 23-36.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, April and May, 1822, p. 22.

5 Ibid.

heavy on these scenes, and their recollection refreshes the heart."¹

IV. THE EDINBURGH MINISTRY (1822-1858)

A. The Rose Street Congregation (1822-1829)

King George IV visited Edinburgh in August, 1822, occasioning great excitement in the city and drawing to it many visitors from all parts of the country.² Brown no doubt witnessed this event, for he had been inducted to Rose Street on June 4, 1822.³ Prior to his translation, the Rose Street Congregation had split over the building of a new church; the majority of the congregation followed their minister, Dr. James Hall, and built a new church at Broughton Place.⁴ The remnant, 300 to 400 strong, were constituted into a congregation and continued to worship in Rose Street church.⁵ In his new charge, Brown received a stipend of 300 pounds, together with a manse and sacramental expenses.⁶

At Brown's first service, Rose Street Church was filled to overflowing; before long the regular congregation occupied

¹ The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., p. 78.

² Francis H. Groome, (editor), Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland A Graphic and Accurate Description of Every Place in Scotland, (Edinburgh: 1901), p. 487.

³ Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, from 1733 to 1900, vol. I, p. 456.

⁴ "Origin of the Congregation in Rose Street," Session House of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh, MS, pp. 16-44. (n.d.)

⁵ William Mackelvie, Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1873), p. 201.

⁶ Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, from 1733 to 1800, Vol. I, p. 456.

every available seat, and the membership was nearly doubled.¹ His monthly course of Sunday-evening lectures on the History of the Jews was so well attended that the beadle had difficulty in leading Brown to the pulpit.² Brown was now a strongly evangelical preacher; along with other evangelical ministers of Edinburgh, he preached on Calton Hill, where large crowds of people gathered in the open-air on Sunday evenings.³

In November, 1822, Brown formed a class for reading the Greek New Testament among students in theology who attended his church.⁴ Together they read the Acts, Romans, Galatians, and other parts of the New Testament.⁵ In the Preface to his Exposition of Galatians, Brown mentions two men of this class: John Brown Patterson, afterwards minister of the Church of Scotland in Falkirk, and William Cunningham, afterwards Principal and Professor of Ecclesiastical History in New College, Edinburgh.⁶ Upon students, Brown exerted a healthy influence for good not only in his Greek class but also in his personal conversations and pulpit ministry.

In Edinburgh, Brown continued to lend his faithful support to missionary and Bible societies, e.g. Scottish

1 Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church, from 1733 to 1800, vol. I, p. 456.

2 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 103.

3 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., p. 106.

4 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, (Edinburgh: 1853), pp. ix, x.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

Missionary Society,¹ British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Hibernian and Irish Evangelical Society. Unfortunately, the religious zeal which was manifest in these societies, led to the Apocrypha Controversy, which sharply agitated the public mind during the 1820's.² The British and Foreign Bible Society had been organized in 1804 for the purpose of distributing the Bible without "note or comment."³ The acting committee in London, however, had been printing and circulating editions of the Bible with the Apocryphal books included for many years.⁴ This was done to satisfy the affiliated societies on the Continent who served Churches that regularly included the Apocryphal books with the canonical books in their Bible.⁵ Robert Haldane, who was one of the founders of the Baptist Church in Scotland, was the first to denounce this practice;⁶ he was shortly joined by Dr. Andrew Thomson, secretary to the Edinburgh Bible Society and editor of the Edinburgh Christian Instructor.⁷

1 Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, 1819-1826; Cairns, op. cit., p. 109.

2 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland From the Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Time, vol. II, 2nd ed., p. 444.

3 First Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1804), pp. i-xv.

4 See Appendix, pp. 1-4.

5 Henry Venn, Remarks on the Propriety of Applying Funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the Circulation of such Foreign Versions as Contain the Apocrypha, in Places Where No Other Versions Will Be Received, (London: 1825), pp. 1-8.

6 Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, (3rd ed., London: 1853), p. 517.

7 Ibid., pp. 517ff.

At first Brown supported his evangelical brethren in denouncing the circulation of the Apocryphal books, but in 1826, when the B.F.B.S. discontinued this practice, he believed that the wrong had been made right and justice obtained.¹ He now gave his full support to the parent society and pleaded their cause in a long paper.² Haldane and Thomson, however, were not satisfied, and through the E.B.S., unreasonably demanded three things: That the B.F.B.S. should publicly confess its regret for the past violation of a fundamental law, i.e., the circulation of the Apocrypha; That no further connection be held with foreign societies that continued to circulate the Apocrypha; And that the Executive of the Society, both at home and abroad, be cleansed of all personnel, who had favored the circulation of the Apocrypha.³ The B.F.B.S. did not accede to these repressive demands,⁴ whereupon the E.B.S. in 1826 separated from the B.F.B.S. and were joined in this secession by most of the Bible Societies in Scotland.⁵ This unhappy controversy was attended by extreme bitterness, especially on the part of Haldane in

1 See Appendix, pp. 6-8.

2 John Brown, Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public, (Edinburgh: 1828).

3 Andrew Thomson, Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, (Edinburgh: 1826), pp. 1-53.

4 Twenty-second Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1826), p. xvii.

5 William C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane, The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, (Edinburgh: 1948), pp. 21-23.

his pamphlets and Thomson in his articles in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor.¹ These were Christian men and meant well, but they were blinded by narrow religious views that tended to restrict and to destroy freedom of thought and action. Compelled to participate in the controversy, Brown wisely followed a course that was both just and temperate. The effect of the controversy has been that the Apocryphal books are not printed or circulated by the Bible Societies of England, Scotland, and America.²

While minister of the Rose Street Church, Brown rarely travelled any distance from Edinburgh, but in the summer of 1826, he went to Ireland as a delegate of the Scottish Missionary Society.³ He travelled from Dublin to Sligo, preaching in many churches along the way. His general estimate of the religious state of the country was "strongly tinged with depression and despondency."⁴

On December 10, 1826, Brown preached the funeral sermon of Dr. James Hall, first minister of Broughton Place.⁵

1 Robert Haldane, Exposure of the Statement Recently Published by the Edinburgh Corresponding Board, (Edinburgh: 1828), pp. 1-118; and Edinburgh Christian Instructor, (December, 1828), pp. 1-30.

2 Charles C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, (New Haven: 1946), pp. 39, 40. See the Appendix for a detailed account of the Apocrypha controversy.

3 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., pp. 118, 119.

4 Ibid.

5 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place," MS Minute Book # 1, 1791-1831, Dec. 10, 1826.

A year later, he was called to be Hall's successor,¹ but the Synod, in May 1828, refused to translate him.² The congregation renewed their call within six weeks, but the Edinburgh Presbytery held it up.³ The call was carried to the United Associate Synod of April 1829 by appeal.⁴ According to his son, the Synod would have continued Brown at Rose Street, if Dr. John Belfrage of Slateford, a close friend, had not swayed the vote in favor of translation by a powerful speech:

There was some speaking, all on one side, and for a time the Synod seemed to incline to be absolute, and refuse the call of Broughton Place. The house was everywhere crowded, and breathless with interest, my father sitting motionless, anxious, and pale, prepared to submit without a word, but retaining his own mind; everything looked like a unanimous decision for Rose Street, when Dr. Belfrage rose up and came forward into the "passage," and with his first sentence and look, took possession of the house. He stated, with clear and simple argument, the truth and reason of the case; and then having fixed himself there, he took up the personal interests and feelings of his friend, and putting before them what they were about to do in sending back my father, closed with a burst of indignant appeal, 'I ask you now, not as Christians, I ask you as gentlemen, are you prepared to do this?' Every one felt it was settled and so it was. My father never forgot this great act of his friend.⁵

The Synod, by a majority of forty, voted to translate him,⁶ and Brown now became minister of the largest congregation of

1 "Scroll of Reasons for Translating John Brown to Broughton Place," MS, n.d., pp. 1-12.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, May, 1828, p. 8.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, September, 1828, p. 9.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, April, 1829, p. 6.

5 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., pp. 86, 87.

6 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1829), p. 6.

the United Secession Church in Edinburgh.

B. The Broughton Place Congregation (1829-1858)

On May 20, 1829, John Brown was inducted to Broughton place Church and began a ministry that was to last nearly thirty years.¹ Again, Brown was highly successful both as a preacher and pastor. By 1830, the communicants were increased from 650 to over 1000;² the church, containing 1550 sittings, was filled Sunday after Sunday. Brown delivered some of his best expositions in Broughton Place Church, e.g. his lectures on Gospel History, First Peter, Isaiah, Hebrews, and Romans.³

Broughton Place Church practically became the home of the United Associate Synod; from 1829 to 1847, it met elsewhere only six times.⁴ Broughton Place was near the center of Edinburgh, had large accommodations, and under Brown's cordial leadership, always welcomed the Synod.⁵ Brown's name often appears in the Minutes of the United Associate Synod, for he was a member, sometimes convener, of many

1 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh," 1791-1831, MS, Book # 1, May 29, 1829.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., p. 123.

3 See Expositions by John Brown on Gospels, I Peter, Isaiah, Hebrews, and Romans.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, September, 1829, p. 4.

5 Ibid., p. 6.

committees.¹ On September 8, 1829, the United Associate Synod chose Brown to be their Moderator.² During his moderatorship, the Synod established its first permanent Fund for Missions, a standing committee on Missions, and a permanent Secretary for Missions.³ The United Secession Church now began to extend its foreign mission work; after 1847, missions became the forte of the United Presbyterian Church for more than a half century.⁴ Brown himself was an ardent supporter and teacher of missions, both home and foreign; in 1835, Broughton Place established and fully supported missions at Canongate, Edinburgh, and New Broughton, Jamaica.⁵ At this time, almost every Church in Scotland had accepted the obligation and right of foreign missions; in 1829, Dr. Alexander Duff, the first missionary of the Church of Scotland, sailed for India.⁶

Though his large expositions were not yet published, Brown's early writings had earned distinction in America. In

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, 1820-1847. Brown served on the following committees of Synod: Missions, Library, Theological Education, The Testimony, Negro Slavery, Competing Calls, Synod Fund, Union with Relief Church, Scottish Universities' Bill, Endowments of the Church of Scotland, Bible Monopolies, Revival of Religion, Improvement of Psalmody, Sabbath Profanation, Public Questions.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, September, 1829, p. 4.

3 Ibid., p. 6.

4 Memorial of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, May 1897, (Edinburgh: 1897), pp. 289, 290, 307, 308.

5 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, 1831-1841," MS, February, 1835.

6 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), pp. 443, 444.

1830, Brown was honored by Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.¹ The award was made in absentia.

His father, having completed fifty-five years as minister of the Secession congregation in Whitburn, died on February 10, 1832.² Dr. Brown preached his funeral sermon from John 11:11, "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth, but I go that I may awake him out of sleep."³

Political reform now held the attention of the whole nation. The Roman Catholic Bill, though violently resisted by the anti-catholics of the kingdom, was passed by the House of Commons and attained royal assent on April 13, 1829.⁴ After nearly three centuries of proscription, the Roman Catholics of Scotland were freed from political disabilities and recognized as "citizens and subjects."⁵ In 1832, the Reform Bill was passed by Parliament at the instance of a Whig government, and franchise was conferred upon tens of thousands

1 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, 1791-1831," MS, Book #1, Nov. 9, 1830.

2 Letters on Sanctification, by the Late John Brown of Whitburn, with a Memoir of His Life and Character by Rev. David Smith, Biggar, (Edinburgh: 1834), p. 165.

3 Ibid., p. 164.

4 Alphons Bellsheim, History of the Catholic Church of Scotland, From the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day, trans. by D.O.H. Blair, Vol. IV, (Edinburgh: 1890), pp. 278-290.

5 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: 1859), p. 619.

of people for the first time.¹ This measure of reform almost revolutionized the State and created "a tendency toward liberalism in all things."² Politically, John Brown, like most Seceders, was a Whig;³ he undoubtedly rejoiced in the passing of the Reform Bill, which for the British people was probably "the greatest political fact of the Nineteenth Century."⁴ His son intimates, that, "He used to say he believed there was hardly a Tory in the United Associate Synod, . . . The great Whig leaders knew this, and could always depend on the Seceders."⁵ The liberalism that grew up in Brown's political thought, unquestionably effected a radical change in his attitude toward the Church and State which is so apparent in the Voluntary Controversy.

The Voluntary Controversy, which received its first real impulse from the Roman Catholic Bill of 1829, acquired new impetus from the Reform Bill. The 1830's were largely occupied with the divisive furies of this bitter controversy between Dissenters and Churchmen. Brown, like almost every Seceder, adopted Voluntary principles; he vigorously supported these principles in the pulpit, on the lecture platform, and through

1 E.L. Woodward, The Age of Reform, (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1938), pp. 77-85.

2 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., 1882), p. 448.

3 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 62.

4 Robert Mackenzie, The Nineteenth Century, (15th ed., 1909), p. 114.

5 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 62.

the press.¹ His participation in this controversy was so whole-hearted that he conscientiously refused to pay the Edinburgh Annuity Tax and thus needlessly involved himself in additional conflict.

In April 1834, the Synod of the United Secession Church elected Brown by a large majority to the chair of Exegetical Theology in its Divinity Hall.² He accepted the appointment with reluctance, for this new task of training theological students had to be carried on alongside his regular ministry to a large congregation.³ His labors as Professor extended over the remaining twenty-four years of his life.⁴

Nineteen years had passed since his wife died; Brown now contracted a second marriage. In June 1835, he married Miss Margaret Fisher Crum, daughter of Alexander Crum of Thornliebank, near Glasgow.⁵ To this marriage, there were three children: Jane Ewing, Alexander Crum, and Margaret Fisher Crum.⁶ Jane Ewing afterwards became the wife of Dr. James S. Wilson, minister of the Church of Scotland in New

1 See Chapter Two for a full discussion of Brown's part in the Voluntary Controversy.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, April, 1834, p. 11.

3 Ibid., p. 14.

4 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, May, 1859, pp. 213, 214. See Chapter Five for a full discussion of his work as Professor.

5 John Brown, Memorial of Mrs. Margaret-Fisher Brown, (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 17, 18.

6 Eric Nobbs, "The Family Tree of John Brown of Haddington," MS, The possession of Mrs. Arthur H. Maclean, Edinburgh.

Abbey.¹ Alexander Crum, like his two step-brothers, studied medicine; he later became Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh, and made many contributions to scientific knowledge.² Margaret Fisher Crum, the youngest, died in 1846.³

Serious illness overtook Brown in the spring of 1840, forcing him to rest from his incessant labors.⁴ He was mentally and physically worn out and in need of rest. That autumn, he was able to deliver his divinity lectures, but he was not able to resume his full ministry in Broughton Place. Consequently, in a letter dated October 20, 1840, he asked the congregation to obtain a colleague who would assist him while he lived and replace him at his death.⁵ He also requested that his colleague always be paid a stipend equal to his own. The generosity and equity of these terms were characteristic of Brown. His request was promptly approved; the congregation immediately began to seek a second minister.⁶ In June 1842, the congregation secured the Rev. Andrew Thomson of the Lothian

1 E.T. M'Laren, Dr. John Brown and His Sisters Isabella and Jane, (6th ed., London: 1901), p. 66.

2 Robert Mackenzie, John Brown of Haddington, (London: 1918), p. 312.

3 John Brown, Comfortable Words for Christian Parents Bereaved of Little Children, (Edinburgh: 1846), p. 3.

4 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place," Edinburgh, Book # 2, 1831-1841, MS, October 20, 1840.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

Road Church, Edinburgh, as a colleague for Dr. Brown.¹ The colleagues were to divide the work between them and each of them was to receive a stipend of 400 pounds.² Years of controversy were now beginning for Brown; his colleague proved "himself a true yoke-fellow."

From 1841 to 1845, Brown was largely engaged in the Atonement Controversy. This theological conflict was primarily confined to the United Secession Church and was essentially concerned with the extent of the atonement of Christ.³ Brown's orthodoxy was seriously questioned by some of his brethren; in 1845, he was libelled by Dr. Andrew Marshall of Kirkintilloch on five counts of alleged heresy.⁴ The Synod, however, completely acquitted Brown; his usefulness as a preacher and professor were not impaired.⁵

On September 29, 1841, Brown's wife died.⁶ Her death brought fresh sorrow to his tender heart; it left their three infant children motherless. Dr. Robert Balmer, a friend and fellow-professor of Brown's, preached a funeral sermon on Psalm 102:24, "O my God, take me not away in the midst of my

1 "Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place," Book # 3, MS, June 28, 1842.

2 Ibid.

3 Andrew Robertson, History of the Atonement Controversy, in Connexion with the Secession Church, (Edinburgh: 1846), pp. 160-291.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, July 1845, pp. 25, 26.

5 Ibid., p. 44. See Chapter Four for a detailed account of the Atonement Controversy.

6 John Brown, Memorial of Mrs. Margaret-Fisher Brown, p. 23.



days."¹ Dr. Brown wrote a short memoir of his second wife, which he published under the title, Memorial of Mrs. Margaret-Fisher Brown.²

The Church of Scotland, from 1834 to 1843, clashed with the State over the question of patronage and the Church's spiritual independence.³ This conflict came to a dramatic climax in the Disruption of May 18, 1843, when a large section of the Evangelical Party separated from the Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland.⁴ Even though Brown, in 1840, had cautioned his fellow Dissenters not to help or hinder the Evangelical Party in its political efforts,⁵ his deepest sympathies lay with the Evangelical Party, especially in its rejection of patronage and its assertion of the Church's spiritual independence.⁶ On the 18th May, Dr. Brown walked to Tanfield Hall and took a seat on the empty platform, where he waited for the Disruption ministers and elders from the General Assembly.⁷ Principal William Cunningham at Brown's Jubilee recalled that friendly act with these words:

1 Ibid., pp. 69-136.

2 Ibid., pp. 1-61.

3 G.D. Henderson, Heritage, A Study of the Disruption, (Edinburgh: 1943), pp. 59-101.

4 Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, (Edinburgh: 1943), pp. 295-298.

5 John Brown, What Ought The Dissenters of Scotland to do in the Present Crisis? (Edinburgh: 1840), pp. 5-20.

6 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., pp. 121, 122.

7 Ibid.

When on that somewhat memorable occasion, we came down to this place, we found that Dr. Brown had taken possession of this platform, before us, and was waiting here to receive us. We could not but regard this as an expression of kind and cordial interest in our movement, as an indication of Dr. Brown's conviction that we were acting right as far as we went, in a manner that was honourable to the Christian ministry, and in a way likely to promote the interests of true religion in this land. In these views, Dr. Brown's appearance in this place was an incident that afforded us very peculiar gratification.¹

On the day after the Disruption, Dr. Brown set out for a visit to the Continent with his brother-in-law and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. James Crum. They sailed from London to Antwerp and travelled through Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. While in Geneva he met Caesar Malan, Professor La Harpe, and Dr. Merle d'Aubigne.² At the conclusion of his tour of the Continent, he wrote,

"I have seen many beautiful lands and splendid cities, but none, taking everything into account, to compare with my own native country, 'mine own romantic town,'"³

The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland of October 1843 met in Glasgow and received a deputation from the Reformed Presbyterian Church and the United Secession Church. The latter deputation consisted of Drs. Brown, Heugh, King, Harper, Rev. Struthers, and Mr. James Peddie.⁴ On this occasion Brown foreshadowed movements toward Union by saying,

1 Ibid.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., pp. 258, 259.

3 Ibid., p. 260.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, October, 1843, pp. 33, 34.

We regard, then, the Free Church of Scotland, its ministers and people, with admiration and cordial love. They have a place in our hearts, I believe, next to the body of Christians with which we ourselves are more immediately connected; and we look forward with earnest desire and confident hope to the period, which I cannot think is likely to be a distant one, when the two bodies will be more closely united.¹

Although Brown sincerely hoped for an early Union between his denomination and the Free Church of Scotland, the extreme Voluntary principles, e.g. the complete separation of Church and State, and the liberal theology, which he adopted and strenuously advocated, were veritable stumbling-blocks to Church Union for many years.

Dr. Brown had a part in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance. He was one of fifty-five Scottish ministers and laymen who signed and sent out an invitation that convened the Liverpool Conference of October, 1845.² He occupied the chair at the last session of this convocation, which prepared the way for the real launching of the Alliance at the London meeting of 1846.³ At this first meeting, the doctrinal basis of the Evangelical Alliance was drawn up in nine points:

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture;
2. The right and duty of individual believers to exercise their judgment in the interpretation of Scripture;
3. Belief in One God and Three Persons in the same;
4. The Utter corruption of human nature by the Fall;
5. The Incarnation of the Son of God, His work of Reconciliation for men's sins, and His

1 Witness, October 24, 1843.

2 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord, (Edinburgh: 1850), vol. III, pp. 385-389.

3 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D. p. 268.

mediatorial intercession and reign; 6. Justification of the sinner by Faith alone; 7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the sinner's conversion and sanctification; 8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the human race by Jesus Christ, together with the eternal felicity of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked; 9. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry and the obligation and perpetual ordinance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.¹

While Brown could readily accept the above doctrines, he did not narrowly consider them as a minimum basis of "what a man must believe in order to be a Christian."² For him, the doctrinal basis was only a platform on which the largest number of "apparent evangelical Christians" might gather in visible agreement.³ His interest in the Evangelical Alliance never waned; he attended its meetings and defended it through the press.⁴

On May 13, 1847, the United Secession and Relief Churches united to form the United Presbyterian Church.⁵ Dr. Brown had actively worked for this Union and took keen delight in its realization.⁶ Two phrases to which he had objected in the Secession Formula of 1820,⁷ were eliminated from the Basis of Union of 1847: "The Presbyterian Government" was no

1 J.R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1875, (Edinburgh: 1927), pp. 74, 75.

2 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord, vol. III, p. 387.

3 Ibid., pp. 387, 388.

4 Ibid.

5 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, May, 1847.

6 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, May, 1847, p. 32.

7 See pages 37, 38.

longer designated as "the only form of Church government founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God"; and public covenanting as "a moral duty" was deleted from the Articles of Union.¹ In addition to the creed held in common by Scottish Presbyterians, the Basis of Union included three notes of special testimony: 1. The disapproval of any intolerant and persecuting doctrines of the Westminster standards; 2. An article on open communion; 3. A Declaration of the obligation and privilege of Christian giving.² The first referred to civil and religious liberty for which both churches had contended; the second was a principle of the Relief Church, which held true to the words of Thomas Gillespie, its founder, "I hold communion with all that visibly hold the Head."; the third was an assertion of positive Voluntaryism as the Church's principle of support and extension. Several years after the United Presbyterian Church was formed in Tanfield Hall, Dr. Brown was commissioned by a committee of Synod to write a brief manual of the history and doctrine of the new denomination.³ This manual was subsequently adopted and circulated by the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church as

¹ Memorials of the Union of the Secession and Relief Churches, Now the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1847), pp. 65-67.

² Ibid.

³ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, May 1854, pp. 518, 519.

their Summary of Principles.¹

Like his father, Brown had a "special love" for the Secession. His son declared that,

. . . . his knowledge of the Secession, through all its many divisions and unions, his knowledge, not only of its public history, with its immense controversial and occasional literature, but of the lives and peculiarities of its ministers, was of the most minute and curious kind. He loved all mankind, and specially such as were of "the household of faith;" and he longed for the time when, as there was one Shepherd, there would be but one sheepfold; but he gloried in being not only a Seceder, but a Burgher²

In 1849, Dr. Brown utilized his wide knowledge of the Secession in writing and publishing the Memorials of the Rev. James Fisher.³ His bias as well as his love for the Secession shine forth in this narrative of the first Professor of Divinity to the Associate Secession Synod.

From 1848 to 1858, the last ten years of his life, Brown was largely occupied with the writing and publishing of his expositions. His critical study of the Bible began shortly after his wife died in 1816; "careful and prayerful" exposition of the Word of God became the real business of his life.⁴ Almost all his pulpit discourses were exegetical;⁵

1 Ibid., May 1855, p. 589. See Chapter Four on Brown's Theology.

2 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., pp. 61, 62.

3 John Brown, Memorials of the Rev. James Fisher, (Edinburgh: 1849), pp. 1, 2.

4 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (August-November, 1860), p. 34.

5 See Chapter Three on "The Churchman at Work."

his Divinity Hall lectures mainly consisted of the exposition of large portions of Scripture.¹ From many hundreds of these lectures and discourses, Brown wrote his expositions of I Peter, the Gospels, I Corinthians 15, Psalm 18 and Isaiah 53, Galatians, II Peter, Romans and Hebrews.² Eleven octavo volumes were issued by him in rapid succession from 1848 to 1857. Only his exposition of Hebrews was held back; it was edited and published by David Smith of Biggar in 1862.³ These expositions are marked by qualities of solidity, clearness and devotion. They are logical, elaborate, and thorough but not original in thought. His expositions are defective in that they try to hold a medium between a learned and popular style. In composing for two very opposite circles of readers, the scholar and the people, he produced works that were really fitted for neither. Nevertheless, Brown probably succeeded in this difficult task better than such men as Doddridge or Chandler.⁴

The fiftieth year of Brown's ministry was completed on February 6, 1856. A great public jubilee celebration was held in Tanfield Hall on April 8, 1856, when several thousand

1 See Chapter Five, "The Professor and His Students."

2 See the Bibliography, "Works by John Brown."

3 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, edited by David Smith, vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. v-viii.

4 See Chapter Five for a discussion of Brown as an exegete, and Chapter Six for an appreciation of his works.

people gathered to honor Dr. Brown.¹ Addresses were presented by representatives from his three congregations and his former students. Broughton Place Congregation gave Dr. Brown 610 pounds as a token of their gratitude.² Dr. Brown replied to these addresses with a long, happy speech. He heartily thanked his congregation for their large gift and promptly announced that he would add 50 pounds to it and give the total to the United Presbyterian Synod that a Fund for Aged and Infirm ministers might be established.³ He thanked his fellow professors and minister friends for their presence and reminisced fondly over friends of other days.⁴ Addresses were also delivered by Professors Lindsay and Harper, Dr. Henry Grey, Rev. Alexander M'Ewan and Principal Cunningham.⁵ Each one bore testimony to the high value of Dr. Brown's work and ministry. Principal Cunningham aptly expressed the feelings of all the speakers when he said,

Men usually excel in some one sphere or department, but he has distinguished himself in many, and all of them of high worth and value, as pastor, a preacher, a professor, and an author.⁶

The public celebration clearly showed that through the years Brown had won the respect of many people and stood very high in

1 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 47ff.

2 Ibid., p. 57.

3 Ibid., pp. 72, 73.

4 Ibid., pp. 72-82.

5 Ibid., pp. 85-122.

6 Ibid., p. 119.

the esteem of his congregations, his Church, and his City.

In November 1857, Dr. Brown was stricken with a final illness that caused him much pain.¹ His suffering slackened during the spring and summer of 1858; from his bed, he watched with interest, the religious revivals in America,² his congregation,³ and his students.⁴ The last fires of life began to ebb away, yet to the end he maintained his love and his faith. He died on October 13, 1858, at the age of seventy-four.⁵

The longest and greatest of Brown's ministries had now come to an end, but the strong influence of his life was destined to live on for a time in the hearts of his people and his students. To a very wide circle, he was known as "the wise and faithful instructor, as the trusted advisor and father in the church, as the kind friend, and as the just, public-spirited Christian gentleman."⁶ In the courts of his church, he attained a distinguished position of leadership and stood princeps inter pares. As a lover of religious freedom, he

1 "Minutes of the Session of the Broughton Place Congregation," Edinburgh, MSS, "Pastoral Letter" from Dr. John Brown, July, 1858.

2 John Brown, On the Means and Manifestations of a Genuine Revival of Religion, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1858), pp. 8ff.

3 "Minutes of the Session of the Broughton Place Congregation," MSS, July, 1858.

4 John Brown, Address to Students of Divinity, "Letter to the Students of the Exegetical Class," (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. i-ix.

5 "Deaths" The Scotsman, October 16, 1858.

6 "Death of Rev. Dr. John Brown," The Scotsman, October 16, 1858.

ardently supported and defended its rights in the face of every enemy. In his voluminous biblical works, he left permanent evidence of his knowledge and love of the Word of God. The Scotsman recorded this vivid description of his person:

His head was noble and beautiful; his features remarkably regular and handsome; his habitual expression a singular combination of mildness and power; his bearing exquisitely courteous, with something of an old-fashioned but perfectly dignified and becoming polish.¹

This sketch of the life of John Brown of Edinburgh is concluded with the succinct and just appraisal which Professor G.D.

Henderson provides in The Church of Scotland:

John Brown a passionate and energetic and rousing preacher, a pastor who proved what a pastor could be, well-read in biblical theology, the author of numerous biblical studies, and the forerunner of more liberal theology, and discerning exegesis, was one of the authoritative, compelling personalities of his day.²

¹ Ibid.

² G.D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland, A Short History, (Edinburgh: 1939), p. 130.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCHMAN IN CONTROVERSY

I. INTRODUCTION

As a staunch churchman, John Brown was a weighty controversialist who was seldom overlooked by his opponents. The controversial element in Brown was not easily aroused, but when "the great cause of religious liberty and the spiritual independence of Christ's kingdom were concerned,"¹ or when his character was impugned, he was filled with impetuous indignation and fought zealously to expose and to destroy the falsehood or injustice.² He sometimes adopted radical principles, which, right or wrong, he strenuously supported and stubbornly advocated throughout the controversy.³ His son accurately describes the course which his father followed in controversy:

. . . his way was slowly to think out a subject, to get it well 'bottomed', as Locke would say; he was not careful as to recording the steps he took in their order, but the spirit of his mind was logical, as must be that of all minds who seek and find truth . . . having therefore

1 Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. 71, 72.

2 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, Especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Documents and Notes; to which are added two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Controversy, (3rd ed., London: Wm. Ball, 1839), pp. vii-xxxiv, 200-208.

3 William Cunningham, "Dr. Brown on Civil Obedience," The Presbyterian Review, October, 1839, No. XLVI, pp. 295-322.

thought it out, he proceeded to put it into formal expression. This he did so as never to undo it.¹

Brown lacked a mobility of mind in great questions; his son affirms,

He could not stalk about the field like a sharp-shooter; his was a great sixty-eight pounder, and it was not much of a swivel. Thus it was that he rather dropped into the minds of others his authoritative assertions, and left them to breed conviction. If they gave them entrance and cherished them, they would soon find how full of primary truth they were, and how well they would serve them as they had served him.²

This slow, methodical course of thought on the great questions of a controversy arose from three causes:

. . . partly from his desire to say as much of the truth at once as he could, partly from the natural concentration and rapidity of his mind in action, as distinguished from his slowness when incubating, or in the process of thought, and partly from a sort of self-consciousness . . . a compound of pride and nervous diffidence which seldom left him.³

During the 1830's, the public mind was greatly agitated by the Voluntary Controversy which raged furiously between the Dissenters and the Churchmen over the connection of Church with State.⁴ Brown sided with the Dissenters, eagerly advocated the Voluntary principle, in its negative and popular

1 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1861), p. 48.

2 Ibid., p. 49.

3 Ibid., p. 50.

4 For a detailed account of the Voluntary Controversy see: The Voluntary Controversy in the Church of Scotland 1829-1843 with particular Reference to its Practical and Theological Roots, by Alfred B. Montgomery, (Unpublished Thesis: Tower Room, New College Library, Edinburgh), 1953.

form, and clearly revealed to the public his great love for religious liberty.¹

II. THE VOLUNTARY CONTROVERSY

The antecedents of the Voluntary Church Controversy are not discernible in the early historical statements of the Secession Church. When Ebenezer Erskine and his three brethren seceded, they plainly declared their adherence to "the principles of the Presbyterian, covenanted Church of Scotland, in her doctrines, worship, government, and discipline," and they appealed to "the first free, faithful, and reforming General Assembly of the Church of Scotland."² The first Seceders were not Voluntaries, for they firmly held that a connection between Church and State was necessary.³ Though they separated from the communion of the Church of Scotland, they stood ready to return to the Established Church when certain grievances were redressed.⁴

In England, however, different sentiments were held by the Independents and Quakers who from the first denounced the alliance of Church with State and questioned the right of the

1 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), 195-224, 519-532.

2 Act, Declaration, and Testimony, for the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland; by the Associate Presbytery, (Edinburgh: 1747), pp. iii-x.

3 Ibid., p. 98ff.

4 Ibid., pp. iii-x.

civil magistrate to interfere with matters of religion.¹ The expediency of Church Establishments had been thoroughly discussed by such eminent English theologians as Hooker, Warburton, and Paley.²

At the end of the eighteenth century, influenced no doubt by the radical ideas made current by the French Revolution, the Scottish Seceders began to change their opinion regarding the sphere of the civil magistrate and to abandon the ground held by the first Seceders.³ The Associate (Burgher) Synod, the branch of the Secession Church to which Brown belonged, was the first to register its new view of the Confession of Faith and the Act and Testimony.⁴ After several years of angry strife, the Synod in 1797 adopted a modified formula of questions for preachers at receiving licence and ordination, which exempted them from any belief in the power of the magistrate in spiritual matters:

"That whereas some parts of the standard-books of this

1 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), p. 448.

2 See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Warburton's Alliance of Church and State, and Paley's Moral Philosophy.

3 Thomas M'Crie, Statement of the Difference Between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, As Adopted by Seceders, and the Profession Contained in the New Testimony and Other Acts, Lately Adopted by the General Associate Synod; particularly, on the Power of the Civil Magistrates Respecting Religion, National Reformation, National Churches, and National Covenants, (Edinburgh: C.F. Lyon, 1871), pp. 37, 38, 79-111.

4 John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), p. 591.

synod have been interpreted as favouring compulsory measures in religion, the synod hereby declare, that they do not require an approbation of any such principle from any candidate for licence or ordination"¹

A minority, which believed this declaration to be a dangerous error, dissented from the Associate Synod in 1799 and formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery or the Old Light Burghers.² At the same time, a similar controversy took place in the General Associate (Antiburgher) Synod, which resulted in a radical departure from the views of the first Seceders and the Reformed Church of Scotland.³ They remodeled their Testimony along sectarian lines, expressed their disapproval of the national covenants, and abjured the power of the magistrates in matters of religion.⁴ In 1804, the General Associate Synod adopted its new Testimony in which a distinct line was drawn between the powers of Church and State:

. . . the church is a spiritual kingdom. Her members, as such, are considered as spiritual persons But the kingdoms of this world are secular and earthly societies; the members of which, as such are considered as capable of performing the duties, and of enjoying the privileges, belonging to a civil state. The power of the church is wholly spiritual, and is exercised by her office-bearers, in its whole extent, solely with respect to the spiritual interest of men, and in no other name but that of Christ. But the power competent to worldly kingdoms is wholly

¹ Ibid., pp. 591-617.

² Ibid.

³ Thomas M'Crie, Statement of the Differences Between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, As Adopted by Seceders, and the Profession Contained in the New Testimony and Other Acts, (Edinburgh: 1871), pp. v-xxi.

⁴ Narrative and Testimony of the General Associate Synod, (Edinburgh: 1804), pp. 2-225.

temporal, respecting only the temporal interests of society Christian magistrates have no power to give laws to the church; to appoint her office-bearers or dictate to them in the discharge of their office; to prescribe a confession of faith, or form of worship, to the church, or their subjects in general; authoritatively to call meetings of church judicatories, in ordinary cases, or to direct or control them in their judicial procedure. In matters purely religious, civil rulers have no right to judge for any but themselves.¹

Four ministers, Archibald Bruce, James Aitken, James Hog, and Thomas M'Crie, dissented from the deed of the Synod, and withdrew to form the "Constitutional Associate Presbytery" or Old Light Antiburghers.² Thomas M'Crie, who afterwards became well-known for his biographies of Knox and Melville, wrote a long Statement in which he exposed the Synod's new principles and skilfully defended religious establishments.³

The seeds of the Voluntary principle were now firmly implanted in the creeds of the Associate and General Associate Synods. In 1820, the two churches united to form the United Secession Church;⁴ in 1828, a Testimony of the new body was published.⁵ The United Synod made no discernible advance beyond their previous statements on Church and State.⁶ While the magistrate's power to protect and promote the

1 Ibid., p. 193.

2 Thomas M'Crie, Statement, (Edinburgh: 1871), pp. 214-246.

3 Ibid., pp. 1-213.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1820), pp. 3, 4.

5 Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Two Parts, Historical and Doctrinal, (Edinburgh: John Lothian, 1828).

6 Ibid., pp. 168, 169.

Christian religion was recognized, his authority to interfere in spiritual matters was expressly denied:

Religion, abstractly viewed, is essential to the well-being of society, and to the efficient exercise of civil government, and is therefore the concern of legislators and civil rulers, as well as of all others, in their several situations.

The Christian religion is the best calculated for promoting the interests of civil society, and therefore deserves the countenance of the civil powers. As it is their own interest and duty to embrace it, so they ought to favour its introduction among their subjects.

But the countenance to be given to it must not be inconsistent with its own spirit and enactments. It must not be introduced or propagated by force. It disclaims and prohibits all persecution.

The Church and the State are entirely distinct, capable of existing without the slightest intrusive interference with the proper province of each, and ought not so to interfere. Erastian supremacy of the State over the Church, and anti-christian domination of the Church over the State, and all schemes of connection tending to either, ought to be avoided. The Church and State owe mutual duties to each other, and, acting according to their sphere, may be signally subservient to each other's welfare.¹

While the United Associate Synod as a whole held to the above doctrines, individual ministers began to draw out the practical implications of the Testimony, i.e., religion as a purely spiritual concern ought to be distinct from the State and that a Church to be really distinct from the State ought to be self-supporting or voluntary.² John Ballantyne of Stonehaven, a Secession minister, asserted these principles in 1824 in his book, A Comparison of Established and Dissenting Churches, but

¹ Ibid.

² John Ballantyne, A Comparison of Established and Dissenting Churches, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1830), pp. 123-126.

it attracted little attention until it was re-issued at a more favorable time in 1830.¹

The Voluntary Controversy actually began in 1829 when Dr. Andrew Marshall, Secession minister in Kirkintilloch, published a sermon entitled, Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered.² The demands for it were so large that it rapidly passed through several editions.³ The genesis of the sermon plainly lay in the Roman Catholic Emancipation. The public mind had been violently agitated by the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill in April, 1829;⁴ Marshall craftily played upon the religious fears of the people by stating that the Roman Catholics,

. . . may begin ere long by claiming a civil establishment in Ireland; and upon the principles of those who vindicate establishments, it does not appear how such a claim, were it advanced, could well be refused. The population in Ireland is chiefly Roman Catholic . . . and if the rule be, that in every country the prevailing sect should be endowed by the state, and constituted the dominant religion, what should hinder popery from becoming dominant in Ireland?⁵

He concluded that the only effectual security against the resurgence of the Papists to power was:

. . . to give power to none, separate all alike from the

1 Ibid.

2 Andrew Marshall, Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered, (4th ed., Glasgow: 1829), pp. 1-44.

3 Ibid., pp. i-v.

4 Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, (Edinburgh: 1943), pp. 90, 91, 96, 97.

5 Andrew Marshall, Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered, pp. iv, v.

concerns of government, let there be no domination, and there will be no scramble the only effectual expedient is, abolish altogether the species of power at which they aim, let there be no power in religious matters but what is strictly religious, let the church and state stand each on its own basis, as far asunder as God has put them, give to every denomination a fair field, and no favor, which is all that any denomination can claim¹

The body of Marshall's sermon contained a series of ten propositions, briefly illustrated, in which he openly condemned religious establishments as unscriptural, unjust, inexpedient, secularizing in their tendency, inefficient, and unnecessary.² From this Marshall proceeded to commend the Voluntary principle, i.e., religious organization should be maintained by the free-will offerings of the people, and boldly claimed that this method would adequately support the whole Church.³ In repudiating all religious establishments and in denying the civil magistrate's right and duty to support and to promote religion, Marshall enunciated the negative side of the Voluntary principle; in commanding free-will offerings of the people, he set forth the positive side of the Voluntary principle. The former and not the latter became the real point of dispute between the Dissenters and the Churchmen.

In August, 1829, the Edinburgh Christian Instructor published an elaborate review of Marshall's sermon in which the first reasoned answer was given to the fiery proponent of

1 Ibid., pp. 28, 29.

2 Ibid., pp. 1-44.

3 Ibid., p. 35.

the Voluntary principle.¹ Undismayed by this answer, Marshall published a large pamphlet, in the form of A Letter to the Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D.,² in which he reduced the arguments against religious establishments to two heads: scripture and expediency, "what may be said in favour of it from the Bible and what from its utility."³ Perceiving that his first writings against religious establishments had incited the favorable interest of some Dissenters, Marshall purposely fanned the incipient flames of controversy by issuing yet another volume in 1831, Ecclesiastical Establishments Farther Considered.⁴ Again, Marshall made unsupported generalizations about the evils of religious establishments, called for the separation of Church from State, and exhibited the Voluntary principle as the panacea for all the financial problems of the Church.⁵ The Voluntary controversy was greatly vitalized by the furious agitation for political reform which swept through the country in the early 1830's;⁶ the passing of the Reform Bill, giving

1 "Review of Marshall's Sermon on Ecclesiastical Establishments," Edinburgh Christian Instructor, (August, 1829), pp. 569-595.

2 Andrew Marshall, A Letter to the Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D., Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, Occasioned by a Review in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for August, 1829, on the Subject of Ecclesiastical Establishments, (Glasgow: M. Lochhead, 1830), p. i, ii.

3 Ibid., pp. 1-105.

4 Andrew Marshall, Ecclesiastical Establishments Farther Considered (Glasgow: M. Lochhead, 1831), p. i.

5 Ibid., pp. v, 1-176.

6 Robert Mackenzie, The Nineteenth Century, (15th ed., London: 1909), pp. 111-116.

franchise to many people for the first time, helped not a little.¹ The sphere of the controversy widened as newspapers and religious periodicals gave more and more space to articles of eminent and sagacious men who sided either with the Voluntaries or the Churchmen.²

In this controversy the defenders of the Establishment claimed to have the authority of history, ancient, medieval and modern, on their side.³ Religion in ancient Israel was established by the State; such famous civil magistrates as Moses and Joshua, David and Solomon, rightly employed their authority for the advancement of religion.⁴ Jesus Christ and his disciples worshipped in a temple that was supported by tithes that were appointed by the State.⁵ In almost all ancient nations, e.g. Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome, religion was recognized, regulated, and often supported by the State.⁶ Out of necessity, Christians of the first three centuries were dissenters, and the Church was dependent upon the voluntary offerings of the people. But when Christianity had won a

1 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), pp. 448, 450.

2 John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), p. 728.

3 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), p. 450.

4 Thomas M'Crie, Statement of the Difference Between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, and the Profession Contained in the New Testament and Other Acts, (Edinburgh: 1871), pp. 123, 124.

5 John Cunningham, op. cit., p. 450.

6 Thomas M'Crie, op. cit., pp. 113, 114.

strong following among the masses of the Roman Empire, Constantine legally recognized it, personally endowed it, and, in fact, made it the State religion.¹ During succeeding centuries, every country into which Christianity penetrated, e.g., France, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Russia, Sweden, etc., legally recognized it and publicly provided for its support. Both before and after the Reformation, the Church was established and fostered by the State, for the great Reformers, e.g., Luther, Calvin, and Knox, were supported and protected in their reforms by the civil magistrates. John Calvin in his Institutes of the Christian Religion plainly asserts that religion is the duty and care of magistrates. Calvin writes, ". . . this office [the fostering of religion] is specially assigned them [magistrates] by God, and indeed it is right that they exert themselves in asserting and defending the honor of him whose viceregents they are, and by whose favor they rule."²

The Voluntaries, however, interpreted these historical facts differently than the Churchmen, for they argued that "if there was a universal establishment of religion, it was simply

1 J. Healy, An Established Church Shewn to be in Unison with Reason Warranted by Experience, and Authorized in Scripture, (London: J.G. & F. Rivington, 1835), pp. 42, 43, 45, 46.

2 John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans., Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, bk. IV, chap. XX, (Edinburgh: 1879), p. 658.

a universal wrong."¹ Hence, the establishment of religion was strongly condemned as a great evil by the Voluntaries. On September 13, 1832, a large number of Dissenters met in Edinburgh and organized the Voluntary Church Association for the support of voluntary principles.² They adopted the following basic resolutions:

That a compulsory support of Religious Institutions is inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the Gospel, the express appointments of Jesus Christ, and the civil rights of men: That, in every case where the individual disapproves of the system supported, or of the principles of its support, it is an unwarrantable attack upon the right of property, and a direct invasion of the rights of conscience: That it keeps in a state of unnatural separation, those who ought to be united, and in a state of unnatural union, those who ought to be separate: That its tendency, as exhibited in its effects, is to secularize religion, promote hypocrisy, perpetuate error, produce infidelity, destroy the unity and purity of the church, and disturb the peace and order of civil society: That by its direct and indirect influence, it is among the principal causes of the low state of Christianity in those countries where it is professed, and of the slowness of its progress throughout the world: and that, while thus unreasonable, impolitic, unjust, and mischievous, it has not even the plea of necessity, Christianity having within itself, in the native influence of its doctrines on the minds of those who believe them, every thing which is requisite for its efficient support and indefinite extension.³

These wholesale charges against religious establishments were not representative of the whole truth. But they served the

1 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, Vol. II, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), p. 450.

2 A.C. Dick, Substance of a Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Evangelical Dissenters of Different Denominations, Held in Edinburgh on 13th September 1832, (Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1832), pp. 17, 18.

3 Ibid.

purpose of the Voluntaries by irritating the Churchmen and stirring up fresh controversy. The resolution that brought the Voluntary Church Association into existence and that contained their basic principles, was moved by A.C. Dick, Advocate, and seconded by John Brown, whose name appeared as one of the secretaries.¹ At a public meeting in Glasgow on November 12, 1832, the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society was formed.² Similar organizations were instituted not only in the principal towns of Scotland, but also in many of the rural districts.³

As one of several ministers who projected and founded the first Voluntary Church Association, Brown committed himself unreservedly to the Voluntary church movement and unequivocally adopted the Voluntary principle, both the positive and negative forms. A number of factors influenced him to become a passionate Voluntary: his father departed from the first Seceders' view of the standards of the Reformed Church of Scotland and sided with the New Light Burghers, and young John followed him;⁴ his Professor of Theology, Dr. Lawson, imbued him with "liberal" views of the relationship of Church

1 Ibid., pp. 2, 3.

2 Report of the Speeches Delivered in Gordon Street Church, Glasgow, at the Formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, (3rd ed., Glasgow: W. Land, 1832), p. 1.

3 C.G. McCrie, The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and Her Re-Unions, (Edinburgh: MacNiven & Wallace, 1901), pp. 171, 172.

4 Letters on Sanctification, by the Late Rev. John Brown, Whitburn, with a Memoir of His Life and Character, by David Smith, (Edinburgh: 1834), pp. 11-14.

and State;¹ his ideas of political and religious liberty were moulded by the works of Locke, Milton, Sidney, Vane, Owen, Cartwright, and Mackintosh's Vindiciae Gallicae;² his views of the spirituality of the Church were accentuated by his exegetical studies of the New Testament;³ and his understanding of the Christian dispensation as taught in Galatians and Hebrews in contrast to the Jewish dispensation, destroyed for him all validity of the argument for established churches that was based on the Old Testament.⁴ His earlier publications, however, revealed no advance beyond the United Secession Testimony of 1827, which he helped to write; it must, therefore, be concluded that his sudden shift to the Voluntary principle was of a very late date. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill, Marshall's Sermon, and the Reform Bill, undoubtedly influenced him to side with the Voluntaries.

At the first public meeting of the Voluntary Church Association, held in Broughton Place Church, on January 29,

1 George Lawson, Considerations on the Overature Lying before the Associate Synod, respecting some alterations in the Formula concerning the power of the Civil Magistrate in matters of religion; and the obligation of our Covenants, National and Solemn League, on posterity, (Edinburgh: 1797), pp. 54-56.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 173, 174.

3 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: 1850), pp. 41, 45, 79, 166; Vol. III, pp. 276, 278, 387, 490, 498.

4 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, edited by David Smith, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. 367-374; Vol. II, pp. 358-361.

1833, Dr. Brown delivered a long address "On the Nature and Design of the Voluntary Church Associations."¹ Brown expressed his newly acquired attitude toward the relationship of Church and State in these negative terms:

In our opinion, the ecclesiastical establishments of the country have no necessary connexion with its civil constitution (even Warburton contends for alliance, not for mutual incorporation), and their ceasing to exist as establishments, would have no other effect on the state, than to relieve it from an oppressive burden and a disturbing force, and thus to enable it to perform its appropriate functions with greater ease, and regularity, and efficiency.²

In an attempt to prove that religious establishments were a financial burden upon the State and especially upon Dissenters, Brown argued that religious establishments were supported by public property and that "every one of that public, to whom that property belongs, pays his share of the expenses."³ He contended that the property of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland at the time of the Reformation had been confiscated by the public authorities and thus became public property.⁴ And though a small portion of it had been assigned to the Reformed Church of Scotland, the property did not cease to be public property.⁵ William Cunningham conceded to the

1 Report of the Speeches Delivered at the Public Meeting of the Voluntary Church Association, "On the Nature and Design of the Voluntary Church Associations," by John Brown, (Edinburgh: 1833), pp. 1, 29-41.

2 Ibid., p. 30.

3 Ibid., pp. 30ff.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Voluntaries that Church property was "national or public property" and that civil authority had the power to control or dispose of Church property, but he asserted that "the whole property which the nation contains stands in the same predicament."¹ Even though Church property could be legally called public property, Brown's argument presented a totally one-sided view of the historical picture. He neglected to mention that the original properties of the Church in Scotland had been given by her members as voluntary gifts; that at the time of the Reformation the State had permitted the nobles to seize the bulk of the Church's property; that the State had in fact endowed the Church with nothing more than a small part of her own property. Thus, instead of being a burden upon the people, the Church of Scotland was actually subsisting on her own patrimony.²

In explaining the means that they shall use to gain their end, Brown said:

We do not dream of proclaiming a crusade against establishments. We will neither attempt to sap them by plots, nor overturn them by violence. Our warfare shall be legitimate warfare of argument; and it shall be . . . conducted on the principles of honourable literary combat We shall endeavour to make truth and duty on this subject, manifest to the reason and conscience of men, and in this

1 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, (Edinburgh: 1835), pp. 10-26.

2 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, (2nd ed., Vol. II, Edinburgh: 1882), pp. 451, 452.

way, to persuade them, what we ourselves are persuaded of, that civil establishment of religion is a great evil.¹

Obviously, Brown was not an impartial judge of religious establishments. Being a strong Dissenter and looking at the Church of Scotland from the outside, his judgment was distorted by prejudice and jealousy toward the Established Church which he was unable to conceal and of which he was not really aware.² According to Brown, the primary object of the Voluntary Association was to effect the complete separation of Church and State by "legal means", i. e., by act of Parliament:

. . . our object is to obtain, not a less objectionable form of the connexion between church and state, but the complete dissolution of that connexion, the putting an entire end to all interference on the part of the civil authorities, with regard to religion, either in the way of sanctioning creeds, appointing ministers, or providing for their support. In other words, our object is to induce civil government to let religion alone, and to allow every man, and every body of men, while they conduct themselves as good citizens, to manage their own religious concerns in the way they think most agreeable to the will of God, "with whom alone," in such matters, "they have to do." This is the object, the sole object, of the Voluntary Church Association.³

Brown professed that the aim of the Voluntary Association was to "induce the state . . . to allow every body of men . . . to manage their religious concerns in the way they think most

1 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, "On the Nature and Design of the Voluntary Church Associations," (3rd ed., London: 1839), p. 454.

2 Ibid., pp. 448-456.

3 Ibid., pp. 447, 448.

agreeable" But actually his aim was to destroy that relationship with the State which the Church of Scotland prized as spiritually valuable. The attack on the Established Church was cloaked under the mantle of a plea for "liberty" for all, yet Brown would have denied that "liberty" to the Churchmen. In striving to break the connection between Church and State, Brown and the Voluntaries were unknowingly working to secularize the State and to make religion a strictly private affair. Such proposals were categorically opposed to the Standards of the Reformed Church of Scotland and the practice of the Christian Churches in practically every country in Europe. The Voluntary principle, i.e., the complete separation of Church and State, was an idea that was first propounded by the Donatists in these words, Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia?¹ that was fostered by the Anabaptists,² and that was forwarded by the ideas of Voltaire and the French Revolution.³ The Churchmen, on the other hand, argued that religion is not strictly a private affair, for a nation as well as an individual should profess a religion. Principal William Cunningham contended that since the New Testament

1 William Cunningham, "Dr. Brown on Civil Obedience," The Presbyterian Review, (October, 1839), pp. 302, 307.

2 "M'Kerrow's History of the Secession Church," The Presbyterian Review, (October, 1839), p. 213.

3 The Cambridge Modern History, The French Revolution, "Philosophy and the Revolution" by P.F. Wilbert, Vol. VIII, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1904), pp. 2-27.

declares civil government to be an ordinance of God, " . . . both governors and governed are under a special obligation, in their mutual relation, and in the discharge of their mutual duties, to have respect to his God's authority and purposes."¹ And Dr. Thomas M'Crie asserted that the separation of Church and State was not desirable because it disabled the civil authority "from discharging one principal part of its official duty, which according to the Bible and doctrine of Protestants, is 'to maintain piety' as well as 'justice and peace.'"²

With the rapid growth of voluntary church societies among the Dissenters, the Churchmen were aroused to defend religious establishments. In February 1833, a large number of ministers and laymen of the Church of Scotland met in Glasgow and formed an "Association for promoting the interests of the Church of Scotland."³ And in a short time, similar organizations were formed in other parts of the country. To meet the challenge of the periodical that was begun by Rev. Andrew Marshall, bearing the title The Voluntary Magazine,⁴ a periodical for the defense of the Establishment was

1 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, (Edinburgh: 1835), p. 15.

2 Thomas M'Crie, Statement, (Edinburgh: 1871), p. 25.

3 John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), p. 733.

4 Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, (Edinburgh: 1943), p. 99.

commenced under the title, the Church of Scotland Magazine.¹

The one was as caustic as the other, for Professor Hugh Watt records that,

Whatever could damage the cause of the other was industriously raked up out of the local squabbles of the present and the dubious incidents of the past, until extremists on both sides, fed on one or other of these magazines alone, must have begun to doubt if there was any Christianity at all left in their opponents.²

Previously existing organs, such as the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Presbyterian Review, Presbyterian Magazine, Christian Journal, and Secession Magazine, ranged themselves on their respective sides.³ As the controversy waxed hotter, voluminous materials were published and distributed to the people by the combatants. Dr. Robert Rainy, a former Principal of New College, Edinburgh, sheds light on this phase of the controversy:

There was an endless procession of books and treatises, and pamphlets, essays, letters, and lectures. About fifty thousand tracts on the Establishment side alone, left Collins' warehouse each month during the heat of the Controversy. The pulpit took a vehement part in the discussion. Public debates, in which the champions met by challenge to discuss the questions, gave the greatest possible impulse to the common people who gathered to see them fight it out.⁴

Henry Cockburn, in his Journal, gives a critical description of the conduct of the Controversy:

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid.

3 Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, D.D., (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1871), p. 89.

4 Ibid., pp. 89ff.

We have Voluntary and Established newspapers, itinerant orators, church and voluntary public breakfasts, petitioning, prayer-meetings, and all with the usual proportion of ecclesiastical exaggeration, fierceness, and want of charity. Mutual extermination is the real sentiment.¹

Among the writers who came forward to defend the cause of church establishments, one of the ablest was Dr. John Inglis, minister of Old Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, and successor to the great Principal Robertson as leader of the Moderate Party in the Church of Scotland.² In 1833, Dr. Inglis published his Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, in which he reviewed the arguments for religious establishments that were drawn from Scripture and expediency, and set aside the objections raised against them by Marshall and Ballantyne.³ He discovered grounds for church establishments in the relationship of Melchisedek, the priest and king, and in Abraham, the patriarch. Since patriarchs were also priests and must be understood as having statedly ministered each to his immediate household,⁴ he argued that,

. . . if Melchisedek, as the head of the priesthood under the patriarchal dispensation, derived tithes from every household among the worshippers of the true God, and

1 Henry Cockburn, Journal of Henry Cockburn, Being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time, 1831-1854, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1874), p. 92.

2 William L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, (Glasgow: 1916), pp. 286, 287.

3 John Inglis, A Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1833), pp. 1-52, 171-223.

4 Ibid., p. 40.

consequently from many to whom it cannot be supposed that his immediate ministrations extended, it seems strongly to forbid any rash conclusion that dissenters from an established church must be exempted from all contributions to its support as a national institution¹

This argument for religious establishments was rather tenuous, for the premise differed greatly from the conclusion. The connection between Abraham and the Dissenters was merely assumed and not really established. Inglis ascribed the success of the Church in the first three centuries to miracles and not to the fact that the Church was then dependent upon the Voluntary principle in its positive form, i.e., the free-will offerings of the people:

So long as the men who preached the Christian doctrines were enabled to work miracles, as a proof that, in what they taught they were authorized of God, their spiritual labour was successful, without the intervention of ordinary and worldly means after miraculous agency had altogether ceased, it seems to have been, in a great measure, by an interposition of civil power, in aid of the ministers of Christ, and as an instrument in the hand of their heavenly Master, that the promise of a more general diffusion of the Christian faith received their gradual fulfilment.²

To attribute the success of the Church of the first three centuries to miracles, was a narrowly one-sided interpretation of early Christianity, for miracles were the exception rather than the rule. The Church was wholly dependent upon the voluntary gifts of the people who faithfully supported it with their substance as well as their lives. Pointing to the dearth of dissenting churches in the Highlands of Scotland where

1 Ibid., p. 41.

2 Ibid., pp. 171, 172.

the religious needs of the people were very great, Inglis contended that the Dissenters' places of worship were "commonly erected, not where the spiritual wants of men are the greatest, but where the appetite and demand for religious ministrations are the strongest."¹ This was a major weakness of the Voluntary system, for being dependent upon the voluntary gifts of the people, the Dissenters were largely limited to the populous and prosperous parts of the country. The Established Church, however, with its ancient patrimony was able to serve all parts of the country and purposed to provide Christian education for the poor as well as the rich.

Andrew Marshall quickly sent forth his rebuttal to Inglis in the form of A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments.² Of Inglis's argument from Melchisedek, Marshall found it to be contrary to the details of the narrative, for

Melchisedek came neither to ask tithes nor to exact them, but to refresh the army of his deliverer, and to bless his deliverer himself; the tithes which Abraham presented to Melchisedek, the tenth of the spoils he had taken in war, were a voluntary gift.³

In reply to Inglis's appeal to the Highlands of Scotland,

¹ Ibid., p. 184.

² Andrew Marshall, A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments, by the Late Rev. John Inglis, D.D., (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1834), pp. i, ii.

³ Ibid., pp. 66, 67.

Marshall mentions that the Congregational Union, and the United Secession Church have erected preaching stations, organized churches in certain parts, and sent out missionaries, but gives no proof of their success.¹ Instead, he asks what the Established Church has done for the Highlands during the several centuries of its existence and what is the state of the Highlands in that hour.² He refers to the proceedings of the "Committee of the General Assembly for increasing the means of education and religious instruction in Scotland, particularly in the Highlands and Islands,"³ and writes,

The General Assembly have found, that notwithstanding the existence of the establishment for so long a time, the Highlands and Islands are, in respect of education, and of religious instruction, in a state of woeful destitution. They have found that out of a population of about 500,000, upwards of 83,000 . . . are not so much as taught to read, and that of the remainder, a large proportion are taught so imperfectly, as quickly to forget what they have acquired.⁴

The Assembly adopted a plan for the erection of additional schools in which they solicited the voluntary gifts of the people, and of this plan, Marshall asked,

. . . what is this but a voluntary exertion? What but a confession on the part of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church that the principle of establishments will not serve to enlighten the Highlands, and that they must have recourse to the voluntary principle.⁵

1 Ibid., p. 303.

2 Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

3 Ibid., p. 304.

4 Ibid., pp. 304, 305.

5 Ibid., p. 305.

This statement beclouded the issue. The Voluntary principle was more than voluntary giving, for it also meant the complete separation of Church and State. The Churchmen and the Voluntaries were at one in receiving the offerings of their people,¹ but they were in violent disagreement over the right of the civil magistrate to recognize and to support religion.²

A. Church Endowments

The Voluntary controversy entered a new phase in 1834 when the General Assembly appointed two committees: one on Church Accommodation, and another on Endowments, with Dr. Thomas Chalmers as convener of the former.³ In July, 1834, a deputation of the Committee on Endowments went to London to procure from the Government an endowment of about 10,000 pounds for "each of the churches that had recently been, and for all that should afterwards be added to the Establishment."⁴ This request for new endowments was bitterly opposed by all Dissenters who thought that it was a fearful

1 "Wardlaw and Angus on the Voluntary System," The Presbyterian Review, (January, 1840), pp. 402, 403.

2 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, (Edinburgh: 1835), pp. 10-26.

3 William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Vol. III, (Edinburgh: 1851), pp. 450-463.

4 Ibid., p. 458. Under Chalmers' leadership, sixty-five thousand pounds were subscribed in a single year for the erection of sixty-four new churches. See page 470.

threat to their existence; if churches with cheap pew rents were multiplied over the country, by the Church of Scotland, dissent would suffer.¹ Henry Cockburn pens this descriptive note about the Dissenters' opposition to the new endowments:

The Church is backed by all presbyteries, all Tories, all pious. Against her there has arisen a hue-and-cry, the like of which Scotland has not seen or heard since the days of the Covenant. All Dissenters who see nothing in the rise of the Church but their own decline, all Radicals who hate Establishments, and some Whigs, are in arms. The case of the Church consists in the single fact that the population has outgrown the Establishment. The opposite consists in denying this, provided due deduction be made of those who do not belong to the Establishment; and in maintaining, as a general proposition, that a Voluntary church is the only rational, scriptural, or expedient one.²

The opposition of the Dissenters to new endowments for new churches in Scotland was short-sighted, for they themselves provided for the religious needs of only a part of the increased population of Scotland. The pronouncements of the Dissenters give evidence of more concern for their own security than for the welfare of the nation.

In December, 1834, Dr. Brown took an active part in founding the "Scottish Central Board for Extending the Principles of Voluntary Churches and Vindicating the Rights of Dissenters."³ Brown became deeply engaged in the con-

1 Ibid., pp. 463-470.

2 Henry Cockburn, Journal of Henry Cockburn, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 90, 91.

3 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 170, 171.

sultation of this body, which formed the rallying point of all Dissenters for about ten years.¹ The Scottish Central Board led the Dissenters' strenuous opposition to the granting of new endowments and was instrumental in frustrating this aim of the Church of Scotland, but not without arousing the enmity of their neighbors in the National Church.² Great public meetings were held; deputations were sent to Westminster, bearing memorials and petitions against the proposed endowments. The United Associate Synod, at their meeting in April, 1835, decided to petition both Houses of Parliament against granting any farther endowments to the Church of Scotland, to present a memorial to his Majesty's ministers, to send a deputation to London, and to invite the congregations of the United Secession Church to petition Parliament.³ Under Dr. Brown's leadership, the Congregation of Broughton Place presented a petition against new endowments to the House of Commons. The final paragraph of the petition summarizes their views on the matter:

Because, in fine, it is in the highest degree iniquitous and cruel, not merely to impose on the Dissenters an additional fine for holding their conscientious opinions, but to extort that fine from them for the express purpose of being employed in the establishment of a system, which,

¹ John Brown, What Ought the Dissenters of Scotland to do in the Present Crisis? (Edinburgh: 1840), pp. 4-8.

² John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), pp. 745-760.

³ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1835), pp. 9-11.

should the sanguine expectations of its authors be realized, will render the property they have laid out on their places of public worship valueless, and destroy a cause which they regard as the cause of truth and of God. May it therefore please your Honourable House to withhold additional Endowments from the Church of Scotland, and thus avert the imposition of a tax insulting, as well as injurious, to Dissenters, and hazardous to the peace and comfort, of both religious and civil society in this country.¹

Self-interest and pride suffuse these statements. The Dissenters appear to place a greater value on the protection of their material investments than on the spiritual needs of a vast new population, but in fact their statement may be nothing more than a practical argument used to catch the eye of Members of Parliament. Nevertheless, unable to meet the spiritual needs of the nation themselves, they jealously blocked the Church of Scotland from receiving endowments which would enable her to do the task.

As a result of the petition of the Church of Scotland for additional endowments and the counter-petitions of the Dissenters, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the whole subject of religious instruction in Scotland.² Principal Rainy tells what happened when this Royal Commission visited Scotland:

The Commission visited every town. They held open

¹ John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, "Parliamentary petition against Endowments," (Edinburgh: 1839), p. 332.

² Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (October, 1835), p. 11.

sittings, examined witnesses of all kinds, and allowed every one who chose to cross-examine them through the chairman. Churchmen and Dissenters badgered each other before the Commission in every town. Bitter disputes and controversies sprang up behind them like a crop of nettles wherever they came.¹

Lectures and speeches were given by able men on both sides of the controverted subject. John Brown delivered a speech at a meeting of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society on March 3, 1835,² in which he claimed that the voluntary support of Christianity was a Divine ordinance and that the system of establishments superseded the financial law of the Christian Church as asserted by Christ.³ Brown formulated this financial law from Christ's charge to his disciples when He sent them forth without money or change of clothing and said:

Freely you have received, freely give; if they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. Eat and drink such things as they give. The labourer is worthy of his hire.⁴

According to Brown's literal interpretation of these words, a minister was to receive maintenance only from the people whom he served.⁵ Brown declared this to be the financial law of the Christian Church.⁶ Naturally, it was an attack upon the

1 Robert Rainy, James MacKenzie, Life of William Cunningham, (London: 1871), p. 90.

2 John Brown, The Voluntary Support of Christianity a Divine Ordinance: or, the Financial Law of the Christian Church, (Edinburgh: 1835), p. 1.

3 Ibid., pp. 1-16.

4 Ibid., p. 3. Matthew 10:8 and Luke 10:7.

5 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, "The Voluntary Support of Christianity a Divine Ordinance," (3rd ed., Edinburgh: 1839), pp. 473, 474.

6 Ibid., pp. 475-479.

Established Church, which received its primary support from its teinds and other endowments, but it would have also greatly limited the work of the Voluntaries. For if this law had been consistently carried out, it would have prohibited the Christian Church from supporting home and foreign missionaries, because they would not be maintained by the people whom they served. Brown himself would never have accepted such a limitation, for he was a zealous advocate and supporter of home and foreign missions. In this same address, Brown outlined some practical advantages of the voluntary support of Christianity. It requires the minister to give faithful service and brings him close to his people upon whom he is dependent for his temporal livelihood;¹ conversely, it gives the people a greater interest in their minister and his instructions because it costs them something.²

A series of lectures on Church Establishments was given in Glasgow under the patronage of the Voluntary Church Society;³ a similar series was delivered in Edinburgh at the request of the Voluntary Church Association.⁴ The Church of Scotland was

1 Ibid., p. 485.

2 Ibid., p. 484.

3 Lectures on Church Establishments, (Glasgow: John Reid & Co., 1835), p. 1. Lecturers were: Rev. W. Anderson, Drs. Wardlaw and Heugh, Rev. D. King, Rev. J.C. Ewing, Mr. J. Beith, and Rev. A. Harvey.

4 Lectures on Church Establishments, (Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1835), p. 1. Lecturers were: Rev. John M'Gilchrist, Rev. W. Nisbet, Rev. J. Robertson, Rev. W.L. Alexander, Rev. Wm. Peddie, Rev. W. Anderson, and Rev. Henry Wilkes.

keenly supported on the lecture platform by some of its leading men, who delivered a series of twelve lectures on the Nature, Lawfulness, Duty, and Advantages of Civil Establishments of Religion.¹ Rev. William Cunningham began this series with his Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State.² In refuting the Voluntaries' assertion that all union of Church and State is unlawful and that the civil magistrate had no right or duty to do anything in regard to religion,³ Cunningham argued that

. . . civil rulers are spoken of in the New Testament as ministers of God for good, and that civil government is described as his ordinance. We are likewise distinctly given to understand, that in consequence of the authority of God being interposed in this matter, a peculiar obligation is laid upon rulers and subjects God did and intended something peculiar, with regard to the institution of civil government, above and beyond what he is to be considered as doing with regard to ordinary events, occurring in the course of his providence, and this renders it a matter of positive duty in those who administer his ordinance of civil government, that in that character and capacity, they

1 Lectures on the Nature, Lawfulness, Duty, and Advantages of Civil Establishments of Religion, with an Application of the Argument to the Economy of Scotland, (Edinburgh: Fraser & Co., 1835), pp. i-iii. Lecturers were: Rev. Wm. Cunningham, Rev. John Bruce, Rev. James Lewis, Rev. Charles J. Brown of Glasgow, Rev. R.S. Candlish, Rev. John Paul, Rev. James M'Culloch, Rev. John B. Patterson of Falkirk, Mr. A. Dunlop, Rev. John G. Lorimer, Rev. Robert Lee of Arbroath, and Rev. Andrew Gray of Aberdeen.

2 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, (Edinburgh: 1835), pp. i-iii.

3 Ibid., pp. 9ff.

shall have a special respect to his end in instituting it [religion].¹

Cunningham presented the following positive evidence in support of the lawfulness of union or connection between Church and State: The State and the Church may and do consist of the same persons and there is no inconsistency in supporting both of them;² Christ has the undoubted right to reign and to be obeyed not merely as the King of the Church but also as the King of Nations;³ Christianity wherever known, should exert a commanding influence over men's opinions, plans, motives, and line of conduct both in public and private life;⁴ the Jewish Establishment was appointed by God himself;⁵ it has been the practice of almost all nations, in every age, to have some connection between religion and civil authority.⁶ From these arguments, he concludes that,

. . . every argument that goes to prove that there ought to be a union, or friendly connection, between Church and State, equally proves, that those invested with civil power, have something to do with religion, and ought to do something with regard to it. We do not ascribe to those invested with civil authority, any jurisdiction in or over religion, or any right to dictate modes of faith and worship to their subjects. The jurisdiction, properly so called, of civil rulers, extends only to

1 Ibid., pp. 15, 16.

2 Ibid., pp. 28-30.

3 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, (Edinburgh: 1835), pp. 30-32.

4 Ibid., pp. 32-34.

5 Ibid., pp. 34-37.

6 Ibid., pp. 37-42.

civil or temporal matters; but they have a certain duty to perform to religion and the Church; they have in a certain sense, a right to do something in regard to religion, i.e., to do what ever is needful in order to the discharge of the duty which they owe to religion . . .¹

B. The Edinburgh Annuity Tax

In the midst of the general Voluntary controversy, Brown became entangled in a conflict of a more personal and local nature in which he played a conspicuous part. This was his stubborn resistance to the payment of the Edinburgh Annuity Tax from 1836 to 1838.² The smaller conflict was a lively example of the larger Controversy, being characterized by extreme bitterness on all sides.

The annuity tax was an impost that was levied for the payment of ministers of the Edinburgh City Churches.³ The renters of dwellings within the City were charged a six per cent tax on their rentals; the money was used for the maintenance of the eighteen ministers of the Church of Scotland who served the thirteen churches in the City.⁴ Historically, the tax dated back to King Charles I and his Privy Council which in 1633 had decreed that the householders of Edinburgh should contribute in proportion to their rents an annuity of

¹ Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

² John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), pp. 193-224.

³ Ibid., "The Annuity Tax," pp. 360-372.

⁴ Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, D.D., (London: 1871), p. 95.

10,000 merks for part payment of the ministers' stipends.¹ Payment of the annuity tax had always been resisted by whatever religious body happened to be in opposition to the Established Church, "by the Presbyterians under Charles I and II, by the sectaries during the Interregnum, and by the Episcopalians and other Nonconformists after the Revolution."² In 1833, when there was acute antagonism between the Churchmen and Dissenters, popular fury turned against the annuity tax, and many who had paid it unwillingly in the past, now refused to pay it altogether.³ The collection of the tax lay in the hands of the ministers of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, and when the recusants multiplied to many hundreds, the clergy enforced their legal rights by distraint and in some cases by imprisonment.⁴ In his Journal, Henry Cockburn enables one to see what form public resistance to the tax was taking:

Meanwhile, certain persons resolved to attain the honours of martyrdom by going to jail rather than pay; in adherence to which resolution several tradesmen have actually submitted to incarceration, and mobs of people have followed them to or from prison, with music and

1 William L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, (Glasgow: 1916), p. 280.

2 Ibid., p. 281. The tax was reduced in 1860, and, under an Act passed in 1870, it was redeemed by payment of 56,500 pounds by the Corporation to the Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners. See The Scottish Church Question by James Barr, pp. 72-75.

3 Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, D.D., (London: 1871), p. 95.

4 Mathieson, op. cit., p. 281.

banners in glorious procession . . . These processions to encourage resistance to the payment of a lawful debt would formerly have been met by the military and the judiciary, which again would have been remembered in bitterness or censured from sympathy by respectable persons. Now the people assemble and make speeches and evaporate. Sane men laugh at them, and the folly wastes itself when the object is absurd. When the object is just, this passive resistance, which is entirely a modern invention, is the most effectual of all engines. It must always succeed where the people have firmness to go to jail in greater numbers than it is safe or possible to send them.¹

When Brown moved into the City of Edinburgh in 1835² to start his oldest son in the medical profession, the payment of the tax troubled his conscience.³ At first he exonerated his conscience and testified to his voluntary principles by paying the tax and inserting a public protest against it in The Scotsman of January 2, 1836.⁴ The following year, he took a more rigid stand on the subject; at a public meeting on the annuity tax, he read a long statement in which he announced that he had not paid the tax and never again would pay it.⁵ Distinguishing between the payment of taxes for general and specific purposes, Brown said,

But I conscientiously disapprove of civil establishments

1 Henry Cockburn, Journal of Henry Cockburn, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1874), p. 53.

2 Dr. Brown had resided for several years beyond the royalty of Edinburgh.

3 John Brown, "Protest", The Scotsman, (January 2, 1836).

4 Ibid.

5 John Brown, Documents Respecting the Rev. Dr. John Brown's Opposition to the Payment of the Annuity Tax, "Statement Made at the Public Meeting in Rose Street Church, Oct. 19, 1837," (Edinburgh: R. Marshall, 1837), pp. 1, 2.

of religion in every form. This tax is avowedly imposed for the support of an Established Church I cannot voluntarily pay this tax, without appearing to sanction what I really condemn.¹

In answer to the question, why he did not pay the tax under protest as he had done previously, he said,

For this plain reason, that I am convinced from experience that all desirable ends of passive resistance have not been gained in this way, and that a stronger manifestation, both of the iniquity of the system, and of my abhorrence of it, is likely to be made, by permitting those who are unhappily interested in the execution of what I account an unjust law, to avail themselves, if they so please, of whatever powers the law may give them to punish me for my conscientious conviction.²

This statement raised the whole question of the authority and limitation of civil obedience and evoked some keen attacks upon Brown from Dissenters as well as from Churchmen. To the surprise of Dissenters and the delight of the Churchmen, Robert Haldane, an eminent Dissenter and leader of evangelical religion in Scotland, led the attack on Brown.³ In a series of eleven letters to the Edinburgh Advertiser, extending from November 13, 1837, to March 18, 1838, Haldane severely denounced Brown's conduct and charged him with inexcusable disregard of the Scripture law as to the payment of tribute that is given in Romans 13:1-7 and with rebellion against

1 Ibid., p. 5.

2 Ibid., pp. 5, 6.

3 Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, (3rd ed., London: 1835), pp. 608, 609.

Christ.¹ In his first letter, Haldane's censure took this form:

This resolution is directly contrary to Scripture, and tramples under foot one of the great laws of the kingdom of Christ. That a Christian, with the injunctions of the Apostles on this subject before his eyes, should fear to contract guilt by paying tribute is truly astonishing. I shall refer only to Romans xiii.1-7 . . . The meaning is so clear, that any attempt to evade it must be utterly forced and unnatural. The conscience that can resist it, must be either not in subjection to the Word of God, or greatly in ignorance of that Word.²

Brown's conduct elicited these denunciatory remarks from Haldane:

I am shocked with your determination of going to prison, rather than pay a tax of which you disapprove. What an example is this to your congregation! What an extensive and pernicious effect must it have, not only on your own denomination, but on Christians in general! What mischief is it calculated to excite in social life? To what violence and bloodshed may it not lead? . . . to resist a tax imposed by the government under which you live, is to rebel against Christ, and in the end may kindle the flames of civil war. You may attempt to excuse yourself as you will, but it must be evident to those who tremble at the Word of God, and understand the import of the passage above quoted, that a more flagrant violation of the divine law has seldom been exemplified than in the line of conduct which you have adopted, and the deliberate purpose which you have avowed.³

After writing a letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Advertiser in which he answered Haldane's heated accusations

1 Robert Haldane, The Duty of Paying Tribute Enforced, in Letters to the Rev. Dr. John Brown, occasioned by his Resisting the Payment of the Annuity Tax, (Edinburgh: 1838), pp. 1-92.

2 Robert Haldane, "Letter to the Rev. Dr. John Brown," Edinburgh Advertiser, (November 14, 1837).

3 Ibid.

and calmly restated his own position,¹ Brown planned to let his accuser "rail on" without interruption and reproof.² But when the clergy of the Church of Scotland published 14,000 copies of Haldane's first letter and had it distributed from house to house in Edinburgh,³ he quickly changed his plan and promptly announced that he would give two lectures on the Christian doctrine of civil obedience and tribute-paying.⁴ These lectures were delivered on the third Sabbath evening of December 1837 and January 1838, to his Broughton Place Congregation.⁵ The first lecture, "On the Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience," was an exposition of the verses in Romans 13, that were concerned with the general duty of civil obedience.⁶ With his usual exegetical rigour, Brown inquired what the meaning of the apostolic injunction had been to the Roman Christians, and what it was to Christians in his day;⁷ he concluded that as Roman Christians were enjoined to submit to their heathen government even so must Christians submit to a government which

1 John Brown, "Letter to the Editor", Edinburgh Advertiser, (November 17, 1837).

2 Ibid.

3 Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane (3rd ed., London: 1853), p. 609.

4 John Brown, Documents Respecting the Rev. Dr. John Brown's Opposition to the Payment of the Annuity Tax, (Edinburgh: 1837), pp. 11, 12.

5 Ibid.

6 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, Especially in the Payment of Tribute, (3rd ed., London: 1839), pp. 53, 54.

7 Ibid., pp. 83-90, 91-101.

is much superior.¹ Britons, he said, should have no difficulty in obeying their government,

Our civil constitution is based on so many just principles--is upon the whole, so well administered--and contains such a deep-seated and powerful spring of improvement, that we can have no reasonable doubt that it is the ordinance of God to us To this government we owe obedience; and I have no doubt that the voice of God to us, in reference to it, is, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers."²

But he contended that "the obligation to obedience to any human government, even to the one expressly declared by an apostle to be ordained of God, has limits."³ Brown lays down three limitations of general obedience due to civil rulers. All obligation to civil obedience ceased: first, when men are commanded to do what the law of God forbids; second, when the magistrate acts illegally; third, when the magistrate leaves his "proper province, and interferes in matters with which, as a magistrate, he has nothing to do."⁴ The first and second limitations had nothing to do with Brown's resistance to payment of the annuity tax, for the law of God did not forbid it and it was not an illegal tax. Of the third limitation, Brown contended,

When the magistrate prosecutes objects not included in the great end of his office, his commands cease to be obligatory . . . Few things seem to me to have been more completely and satisfactorily proved, than that RELIGION,

1 Ibid., pp. 53-94.

2 Ibid., p. 94.

3 Ibid., p. 95.

4 Ibid., pp. 96, 98, 99.

in all the extent of that word, is beyond the sphere of the magistrate's rule. If there be things at all that are entirely God's, and not in any sense Caesar's, they are the things of religion. Overt actions inconsistent with the order of society, though attempted to be justified by conscientious convictions, the magistrate has a right, it is his duty to deal with. But with religious opinions and worship, with interior principle and the external expressions of it, under the limitation just announced, he has nothing to do.¹

In the opinion of William Cunningham, Brown stated the fundamental principle of the Voluntaries in language that was vague and equivocal,² when he wrote, "religion, in all the extent of that word, is beyond the sphere of the magistrate's rule." Cunningham declared that if this statement be understood to mean that the magistrate has no jurisdiction in religion, no right to dictate to his subjects what they shall believe or profess, how to worship God, and to punish them for disobeying his orders in these respects, then Brown states what the Churchmen strenuously hold and defend.³ If, on the other hand, this statement be understood to mean that the magistrate has no right or duty, in the exercise of his civil authority, to promote religion, then Brown states what the Churchmen vigorously deny and think that they can disprove by "abundant scriptural authority."⁴ Finally, Cunningham asserted that the latter meaning of the proposition contained

1 Ibid., pp. 102-104.

2 William Cunningham, "Dr. Brown on Civil Obedience," The Presbyterian Review, (October, 1839), pp. 300, 301.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

the true question at issue between Churchmen and Voluntaries, i.e. whether civil rulers are entitled and bound to exercise their civil authority, their control over national measures and resources, with a view to the promotion of religion.¹

Brown and other Voluntaries really held that religion was beyond the sphere of the magistrate's rule in both meanings of the proposition,² but since it was much easier to prove its truth in the sense in which the Reformed Church of Scotland strongly maintained it, they obscured the obvious and important distinction between the two meanings by speaking about the magistrate dictating or prescribing to his subjects in religious matters.

The second lecture was a corollary from the first; respecting the payment of tribute, Brown declared, "We are bound then to pay civil taxes, all civil taxes; we must not refuse to pay them, we must not attempt to evade them."³ Nevertheless, to the law of tribute, he found three limitations; Christians are not bound to pay taxes for immoral purposes, taxes of an illegal kind, and taxes imposed by a magistrate in a sphere in which he rightfully has nothing to do.⁴ The annuity tax which Brown refused to pay, was not

1 Ibid.

2 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), pp. 101-117.

3 Ibid., pp. 153, 154.

4 Ibid., pp. 159-178.

for an immoral purpose, and was not illegal so that the first and second limitations were not applicable to the subject. As to the third, Brown does not attempt to prove that religion or religious taxes are outside the sphere of the magistrate, but merely assumes that they are.¹ His limitations to civil obedience and to the paying of tribute were not derived from the text which he expounded, nor were they based on Scripture, but upon the authority of such men as Baxter, Chillingworth, Paley, Milton, and Locke.²

The second exposition was concluded with the hope that,

. . . long after the names Churchmen and Dissenters are known only as the record of an unjustifiable distinction our descendents will continue to make it evident that they are loyal subjects because they are Christian men, that they "honour the king," because they "fear God," and that while they "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's," they will never render to any but "God the things that are God's."³

These lectures were delivered with great energy to large audiences; on being published, they soon passed through three editions.⁴ Brown greatly enlarged the third edition by adding an immense body of notes and extracts that included quotations from about 300 authors and ran to over 500 pages.⁵ William Cunningham took up this book, with its enormous erudition, and pointed out its weak points in The Presbyterian

1 Ibid., pp. 178, 179.

2 Ibid., pp. 84, 85, 87, 96, 101, 108.

3 Ibid., p. 189.

4 Ibid., pp. xii-xxxiv.

5 Ibid., pp. 1-539.

Review for October, 1839.¹ On the other hand, Principal Fairbairn, Oxford, in 1897, pronounced Brown's book on civil obedience to be "at once the ablest and the fullest in knowledge, and the clearest in its insight into both the religious and the civil principles, then, as now at issue touching the relation of Church and State."² Although Brown's Treatise received many replies, after reading and considering all of them, he judiciously decided that they did not require an answer.³

Having publicly asserted and defended the principle of passive resistance to the payment of the annuity tax, Brown faithfully kept his promise not to pay it.⁴ A warrant was issued against him, and the agents of the magistrates entered his house in February and again in May 1838, to distrain his goods for the annuity tax.⁵ One of the articles which they carried off was an eight-day clock, an "article which was destined to make more noise than any other eight-day clock ever did before."⁶ Principal Rainy described the scene on

1 William Cunningham, "Dr. Brown on Civil Obedience," The Presbyterian Review, (October, 1839), pp. 287-322.

2 Memorial of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church May 1897, "Address from the Congregational Union of England," by Principal Fairbairn, (Edinburgh: 1897), p. 47.

3 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), p. xv.

4 Ibid., pp. 222-224.

5 John Brown, "Letter to the Editor," The Scotsman, (February 8, and May 23, 1838).

6 Robert Rainy, James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, (London: 1871), p. 96.

the day of its sale,

. . . the clock was put up to public sale. A rough and clamorous mob crammed the place of sale, and performed the operation of "bonnetting" any one who was seen to make a bid. However, the clock was sold, for as much happily as paid the debt and expenses; but the exasperation in Edinburgh was not to be told.¹

The second distraint occurred when a number of his brethren were being entertained in his house during sessions of the United Associate Synod, but Brown quietly allowed the law to take its course.² After each distraint, he renewed his protest against the annuity tax by inserting a notice of the seizure in The Scotsman. In the first notice, he uttered this protest:

While I take joyfully this "spoiling of my goods," I abhor the injustice and despise the meanness of the system, by one of the "beggarly elements" of which, I am legally robbed of my property; and cannot help thinking, that every unprejudiced and reflecting mind must perceive that there is something very far wrong with that system, which can render it necessary and proper, in the estimation of a number of most respectable and amiable Christian ministers . . . to sanction the employment of such measures in reference to another Christian minister, who has no ecclesiastical connexion with them . . .³

In this conflict, Brown invariably assumed that his principles and actions were right and just and that his opponents' principles and actions were wrong and unjust. Unquestionably, the ancient annuity tax was an irritating grievance to the

¹ Ibid.

² John Brown, "Letter to the Editor," The Scotsman, (May 23, 1838).

³ John Brown, "Letter to the Editor," The Scotsman, (February 8, 1838).

Dissenters, and Brown gave a conscientious and independent witness against it. But he cannot justly claim to have been "legally robbed" of his property, for despite his personal views, the tax was a legal public debt which he had knowingly incurred when he rented a house in Edinburgh. In his last notice, Brown intimated that,

. . . should the law give those interested, authority to take farther measures against me, and they be disposed to avail themselves of it, they will find me quite ready to allow my person to be conveyed to the City Jail, as my goods to the City Weigh House.¹

This was a strong statement and Brown would undoubtedly have kept his word and gone to the City Jail rather than pay the annuity tax, but he wisely avoided putting himself to such a test. In June 1838, his personal resistance to the tax came to an end; he moved, for reasons that had no connection with this matter, from the royalty of Edinburgh to a home in the suburbs, where the annuity tax was no longer chargeable to him.²

Although few people in the City followed Brown's example, many sympathized with his action, and even in the heat of the controversy, he did not lose his high standing in the community. His own congregation supported him and continued to give him their confidence; letters of sympathy and allegiance, were presented to him by the session and

¹ John Brown, "Letter to the Editor," The Scotsman, (May 23, 1838).

² John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 190.

managers, and congregation of Broughton Place.¹

In Scotland, the general Voluntary Controversy had reached its maximum intensity by 1837, the year of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, and began very slowly to subside.² But in England the "heats and passions of a similar debate" were rising rapidly.³ The Church of England was gravely threatened with disestablishment by a large number of Members of Parliament who were bound by election pledges to its overthrow.⁴ The situation gave rise to the Christian Influence Society, which was organized for the defence and purification of the existing Establishment.⁵ This society invited Dr. Thomas Chalmers, who had kept as clear as he could of the controversy in Scotland, to deliver a course of lectures on the subject to the élite of London.⁶ Chalmers accepted the invitation and in the spring of 1838, gave six lectures On the Establishment and Extension of National Churches, before a select audience composed of nobles, bishops, Members of Parliament, and many "persons in the higher walks of life."⁷ The

1 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), pp. 219, 220.

2 Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, (Edinburgh: 1943), p. 105.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Vol. IV, (Edinburgh: 1852), pp. 37, 38.

7 Ibid., p. 38.

dominant idea of these lectures was stated in the original title which was, "Upon the Establishment and Extension of National Churches as affording the only adequate machinery for the moral and Christian instruction of the people."¹ Chalmers's chief argument for extending the Established Churches was that "by a system of endowed churches, public worship and religious instruction might be introduced into hundreds of districts, which, but for this provision, might have remained in grossest heathenism"² The Voluntary Churches, despite their services as auxiliaries, have proved themselves unequal to the total task. To bring the truths of Christianity to bear upon the whole mass of the community, the State should adequately endow and progressively extend one Church.³ Since there were no reasonable grounds for replacing the Established Churches either in Scotland or in England, the State should continue to encourage and to support these churches in their task of winning the nation for Christ. On the nature of the connection between Church and State and the authority of the civil magistrate in matters of religion, Chalmers contended that it was nothing more than,

. . . a legal provision for the support of a Christian ministry, an arrangement which might truly be gone into,

1 Ibid., p. 40.

2 Thomas Chalmers, Lectures on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches, The Works of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Vol. XVII, (Glasgow: n.d.), p. 198.

3 Ibid., pp. 283-308, 310-332.

and which is actually gone into without the slightest infringement of the spiritual prerogatives of the church, or on the ecclesiastical independence of her clergymen.¹

Desiring a counterstatement to Chalmers's eloquent defence of Church Establishments, the Dissenters of London invited Dr. Ralph Wardlaw of Glasgow, to provide a course of lectures, in which the Voluntary side of the question should be exhibited and the arguments of Chalmers refuted.² Wardlaw accepted the invitation; beginning on May 3, 1839, he delivered a series of eight lectures on National Establishments Examined.³ While dwelling at length on the theme of Christian liberality, the positive side of Voluntaryism, Wardlaw only mentions the negative side:

They admit freely, that their principle includes the distinct denial of the right of the State to interfere at all, by legislation, by endowment, or otherwise, for the support or extension of the Church . . .⁴

But at another point in his lectures, Wardlaw qualified this principle of negation by affirming that, the Christian, "as a magistrate, is bound to fulfil all his official functions on Christian principles, from Christian motives, and according to Christian precepts."⁵ This latter statement seems to be more consistent with the Establishment principle than the Voluntary;

1 Ibid., p. 221.

2 William L. Alexander, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1856), p. 376.

3 Ralph Wardlaw, National Church Establishments Examined; A Course of Lectures in London During April and May 1839, (London: Jackson & Walford, 1839), pp. 1-391.

4 Ibid., p. 39.

5 Ibid., p. 191.

since the magistrate is so bound, he would fail in his duty, if he did not do all within his power to obtain the public recognition and support of Christianity in the land. Nevertheless, Wardlaw's lectures were gratefully received by the Dissenters, who thought them to be a complete and invincible answer to the reasonings of Dr. Chalmers.¹

When the Government, on the basis of evidence gathered by the Royal Commission on Religious Instruction in Scotland, announced its decision concerning the requested endowments² in March, 1838, it pleased neither the Churchmen nor the Dissenters, who had bitterly contested the effort. The first group thought that the Government's suggested plan was too meagre³ and the latter that it was too generous;⁴ it was never made into a Bill.⁵ The Church of Scotland abandoned its

1 Alexander, op. cit., pp. 167, 168.

2 William L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, (Glasgow: 1916), pp. 296, 297. The Government's plan contained these measures: That Bishops teinds shall be applied in providing for the religious destitution existing in certain Highland and rural parishes having no unexhausted teinds; That an alteration shall be made of the Act of 1707, respecting the division of parishes in Scotland, so as to afford increased facilities for the application of unexhausted teinds in the hands of private proprietors, to relieve the destitution of such rural parishes as have unexhausted teinds belonging to them; And that nothing shall be done for the towns. See Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, (May 22, 1838), pp. 42-44.

3 Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, (May, 1838), pp. 43, 44.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1838), pp. 21, 22.

5 Mathieson, op. cit., pp. 297ff.

efforts to obtain new endowments from the Government and called upon its people to complete the extension program through voluntary gifts.¹ As Convener of the Committee on Church Extension from 1835-1841, Chalmers was successful in building 220 churches and in obtaining subscriptions amounting to 306,000 pounds.² In presenting his report to the General Assembly of 1840, Chalmers confessed that the liberality of the people was decreasing and attributed it to the rise of division within the Church; he said,

The present controversial state of the Church has operated most adversely, in particular, on that fund . . . now well known by its designation of the Supplementary Fund, which, but for our unhappy divisions, might by this time have reached, as we calculated from the actual success in a comparatively small part of Scotland, our confident anticipation twelve months ago of £100,000, but which because of these divisions, scarcely, if at all exceeds the sum of £40,000.³

After the Church of Scotland abandoned its plan to obtain new endowments from the Government, there was a general cessation of active efforts to diffuse Voluntary principles on the part of the Dissenters. In the course of the controversy, the Voluntaries declared that the Church in uniting with the State had sacrificed some of its native freedom.⁴

¹ Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, (May, 1838), pp. 43, 44.

² William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., Vol. IV, (Edinburgh: 1852), p. 87.

³ Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, (May, 1840).

⁴ John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), Vol. II, p. 452.

By accepting the State's recognition and support, the Church surrendered its right to change its creed and polity which were rigidly instituted by Act of Parliament.¹ The State had fastened the yoke of patronage on the Church's neck and only the State could take it off. Some Churchmen were satisfied with the security of the Establishment in which all things were fixed by law. But others, like Chalmers and Cunningham, denied the imputation and confidently declared that the Church's connection with the State did not impair her independence.² (Events, however, shortly proved that that connection could limit the Church's independence.) The Church had framed her own creed and polity, and these had been merely accepted by the State. Under the irritating taunts of the Voluntaries, some Churchmen developed high views of the Church's independence.³ These views, which may or may not have been emphasized in part by the controversy with the Voluntaries, had great influence upon the Non-Intrusion Controversy which now arose in the Church of Scotland over the Church's spiritual powers and independence.⁴ The ecclesiastical and civil courts

1 Ralph Wardlaw, National Establishments Examined, (London: 1839), pp. 8ff.

2 William Cunningham, Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union Between Church and State, pp. 18-21; Thomas Chalmers, Lectures on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches, Chalmers' Works, Vol. XVII, pp. 221ff.

3 John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1882), Vol. II, p. 452.

4 Ibid., pp. 452, 453.

came into violent collision and this eventually led to the Disruption which was the largest and most serious secession that the Church of Scotland had ever sustained.¹

III. CONCLUSION

John Brown played a prominent role in the Voluntary controversy, especially in his unbending resistance to payment of the annuity tax, for which he is particularly remembered in histories of the Church in Scotland.² Throughout the controversy, Brown was an outspoken proponent of Voluntaryism both in its positive and negative forms. Positive Voluntaryism affirmed that religious truth ought to be propagated and that churches ought to be maintained by the voluntary offerings of the people. This form of Voluntaryism had a wholesome influence upon religious life, for it taught the people to give sacrificially of their substance as well as themselves to the Christ. Positive Voluntaryism helped to bring the minister close to his people and the people to their minister. It gave the churches greater independence in its internal affairs since it was not dependent upon the State to collect and distribute its finances. It also fostered the popular election of the minister by the people. The purely voluntary

¹ Ibid.

² G.D. Henderson, The Church of Scotland, A Short History, (Edinburgh: 1939), p. 129; C.G. McCrie, The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and Her Re-Unions, (Edinburgh: 1901), pp. 173-175.

churches of the Secession and Relief clearly asserted and effectively illustrated positive Voluntaryism in Scotland during the 18th and 19th centuries. Negative Voluntaryism, however, was a principle of denial and destruction. It distinctly denied the lawfulness of all union or connection between Church and State, and the duty or warrant of civil magistrates to recognize, to promote, or to support religion. It frankly sought the complete separation of Church and State and the overthrow of the existing Establishments as National Churches. It would have reduced the Established Churches to the level of all sects by Act of Parliament and thus forwarded the sect idea of the Church. Negative Voluntaryism was attended by many evils. It aimed to secularize the State, to prohibit the nation from professing a religion, and to make religion strictly a private affair. It would have robbed the Church of its temporal provisions and limited its ministry to people who were willing and able to pay for religion. Thomas M'Crie in his Statement¹ listed several other evils of negative Voluntaryism: It would have banned religion from public acts, ceremonies, and oaths;² The public securities and privileges of the Protestant Reformed Church, which were obtained at great

1 Thomas M'Crie, Statement of the Differences Between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, as Adopted by the Seceders, and the Profession Contained in the New Testimony and other Acts, (Edinburgh: 1871), pp. 16-30.

2 Ibid., pp. 25-27.

expense and sacrifice, would have been annulled;¹ It would have deprived the Church and its institutions of the support and countenance of human laws;² It would have disabled the civil magistrate from performing one principal part of his official duty, which is to promote and to support religion and morality;³ and it would have ended all public provision for religious education in the schools and allowed the children to be educated only in secular subjects.⁴ Finally, in the opinion of the investigator, negative Voluntaryism would have unnaturally divided life into the religious and the secular, the sacred and the profane, and falsely identified the State with the world, the evil world. The State as well as the Church is an ordinance of God and is designed to serve ultimately the same end, i.e. the glory of God.

Brown seemed to be totally blind to the host of inherent evils in negative Voluntaryism, for having entered its ranks, he never retreated from its defence. On the other hand, he was able to perceive and to condemn the evils of religious establishments. Negative Voluntaryism had little historical depth in Scotland, for it was largely a product of the early 19th century. While having its genesis in ideas that went back to Donatism and Anabaptism, it did not become

1 Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

2 Ibid., pp. 29, 30.

3 Ibid., pp. 25, 112-158.

4 Ibid., p. 27.

current in Scotland till after the French Revolution and was not fully expressed by the Dissenters until after the Reform Bill in 1832. At that time, the Dissenters suddenly discovered the iniquity of Church Establishments and organized to overthrow them. Even Brown did not publicly declare his enmity toward religious establishments until September 1832. Indeed, in 1827, he had given his approval to the Testimony of the United Secession Church which held:

That religion, abstractly viewed, is essential to the well-being of society, and to the efficient exercise of Civil Government, and is, therefore, the concern of legislators, and Civil rulers, as well as of all others, in their several situations.¹

This was a direct contradiction of negative Voluntaryism which taught that religion was not the concern of the civil rulers. Naturally, Brown and other ministers of the United Secession Church were accused of being inconsistent with their accepted standards and of abandoning the religious principles held by their forefathers,² who declared their complete adherence to the Standards and Constitution of the Church of Scotland. Thus negative Voluntaryism was a radical break away from the tradition of the Reformed Church of Scotland which was solidly in favor of State recognition of the Church. On this point, Brown had no defence and offered

¹ Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church, (Edinburgh: 1828), pp. 168ff.

² Robert Rainy, James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham, D.D., (London: 1871), pp. 92, 93.

only this explanation:

I hold along with them (Early Seceders), that "all Councils and Synods since the Apostles' times, whether general or particular may err, and many have erred," that acts of Synod were never, in the Secession, placed on a level with the symbolical books, far less with the Bible, and that in the union of the two great bodies into which the Secession had been divided, an approval of the acts of either of the two Synods, formed no term of the consociation.¹

The Voluntary Controversy helped to forward the Union between the Relief and the United Secession Churches:

It brought fully out the views of both denominations on ecclesiastical polity, and not only showed that they entertained the same principles, but that they had common interests to support and defend.²

Although positive Voluntaryism was clearly and strongly enunciated in the Basis of Union between the Relief and Secession Churches in 1847,³ negative Voluntaryism never obtained recognition in the subordinate standards or official documents of the United Presbyterian Church.⁴ Nevertheless, in opposing religious establishments, the Church of Dr. Brown stood committed in the public view to a form of Voluntaryism that was extreme in its negations and which was often

1 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), pp. 373, 374.

2 Memorials of the Union of the Secession and Relief Churches, Now the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1848), pp. 15, 16.

3 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1847).

4 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (1847 to 1900).

identified with such things as Secularism, Socialism, and Atheism.¹ In 1865, the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church revealed the strength of negative Voluntaryism in its midst by adopting Resolutions on the Edinburgh Annuity Tax that were identical with the statements of Dr. Brown:

That the law which imposes a Tax for the support of religion is not only impolitic and unjust, but opposed to the law of Christ, which forbids the employment of force for the propagation or support of religion.

That meanwhile the Synod gives instructions not to pay the sum charged, under the head of Annuity Tax Arrears, in respect of the Synod House and premiums connected with it.²

The following year the sum was paid by "friends" and the Synod recorded:

That it was not to be regarded as expressing any approval of the conduct of those who paid the arrears of Annuity Tax charged on the Synod.³

In 1867, when the United Presbyterian Church was negotiating with the Free Church of Scotland for union, the Synod adopted the following Voluntary Principles as distinctive of their Church:

That it is not competent to the civil magistrate to give legislative sanction to any creed, in the way of setting up a civil establishment of the Church; nor is it within his province to provide for the expense of the ministrations of religion out of the National Resources; that Jesus Christ, as sole King and Head of His Church, has enjoined upon his people to provide for maintaining and

¹ C.G. McCrie, The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and Her Re-Unions, (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 266.

² Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1865), pp. 148, 149, 156.

³ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1866), pp. 286, 287.

extending it by free-will offerings; that this being the Ordinance of Christ, it excludes State aid for these purposes; and that adherence to it is the true safeguard of the Church's independence. Moreover, though uniformity of opinion with respect to civil establishments of religion is not a term of communion in the United Presbyterian Church, yet the views on this subject held, and universally acted on, are opposed to these institutions.¹

For many years, this Voluntaryism, i.e. its negative form, which under the influence of Marshall, Brown, and others had become a dominant characteristic of the United Presbyterian Church, was a major stumbling-block to union with the Free Church of Scotland.² Despite the fact that the Free Church depended upon the voluntary gifts of its people, they were not Voluntaries in the full meaning of that word, for when they left the Church of Scotland, they held tenaciously to the Establishment principle. Under Principal Rainy's leadership, however, the Free Church eventually came to accept a declared policy of Disestablishment, which was similar to the negative Voluntaryism of the United Presbyterian Church;³ the Union of the two churches was finally consummated in October 1900.⁴

¹ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1867).

² Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, (May, 1873), pp. 123-186.

³ Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, 1874, p. 212; 1875, p. 84; 1877, p. 183; 1878, p. 175; 1882, pp. 111-116; 1884, pp. 143, 144; 1885, pp. 113-145; 1887, p. 120.

⁴ Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland. October-November, 1900, pp. 60-73.

Brown's wholehearted defence of Voluntaryism revealed several things about him as a Churchman. He had become a leader of singular stature and strength among the Dissenters of Scotland and especially in his own denomination. His ideas were gratefully received and his example elicited sympathy from other Dissenters even though few followed it. In practice much of Brown's opposition to Church Establishments and defence of Voluntaryism was based upon denominational self-interest, which sadly limited his view of the work and life of the Church Catholic. But coupled with self-interest was his great love of religious liberty and the spiritual independence of the Church, which was likewise a powerful motivating force in his thought. His solution to the complex problem of the Church's relationship to the State was altogether too simple. It lacked historical perspective, broke with the Reformed doctrine and tradition of Presbyterianism, and overemphasized the independence of the Church. Unhappily, Brown divided all life into two separate compartments, i.e. the spiritual and the secular; the Church, of course, was the spiritual kingdom with Christ as its Head, and the State was the secular kingdom, identified almost completely with the evil world. From this false presupposition of God's creation, Brown naturally concluded that the Church and State could not have any kind of connection, alliance, or union and therefore should be separate and independent of each other. His son summarized Brown's oversimplified solution to the

problem of the Church's relationship to the State, when he wrote:

. . . the longer he lived, the more did he insist upon it being not less true and not less important, that the Church must not intermeddle with the State, than that the State must not intermeddle with the Church. He used to say, "Go down into the world, with all its complications and confusions, with this double-edged weapon, and you can cut all the composite knots of Church and State." The element of God and of eternity predominates in the religious more than in the civil affairs of men, and thus far transcends them; but the principle of mutual independence is equally applicable to each. All that statesmen, as such, have to do with religion, is to be themselves under its power; all that Christians, as such, have to do with the State, is to be good citizens.¹

The independence of the Church was greatly overemphasized by Brown. Fortunately, his views did not prevail in Scotland, for the complete separation of Church and State would have been detrimental to both institutions. It was left to Churchmen and Statesmen of the 20th century to work out a wise and proper balance of dependence and independence between the Church and State. That this was accomplished without resorting to negative Voluntaryism was clearly revealed in the status of the Church of Scotland when it entered into the Union of 1929. The spiritual independence and judicial rights of the Church had been fully recognized by the State; and the connection between Church and State remained unbroken.

¹ John Brown, Supplementary Chapter to the Life of Rev. John Brown, D.D., A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1861), p. 57.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCHMAN AT WORK

I. THE PASTOR

As a churchman, John Brown faithfully fulfilled all the duties of his pastoral office. But the crowning characteristic of his pastoral life was study, for from the beginning of his ministry at Biggar until the end at Broughton Place, he maintained such a heavy schedule of study that it consumed nearly every available free hour of his pastoral life.¹

The Bible was the chief cornerstone of all Dr. Brown's study and reading. Having acquired an excellent knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, he read and studied the Old and New Testaments in the original languages with the zeal and energy of a true Biblical scholar. He soon became intimately acquainted with the subject-matter and the living thought of the Word of God; by the end of his ministry, he had formed a deliberate and definite opinion on nearly every text or paragraph of the Bible.² During the youthful years of his Biggar ministry, Brown's critical implements for study of the

¹ James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., "The Duty and Reward of the Faithful Servant," (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 61.

² Andrew Thomson, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., "The Profitable Remembrance of Departed Ministers," (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 30.

Scriptures remained rather scanty. In his Preface to his Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, he states that when he began his study of Romans, he relied chiefly on his Greek Testament, lexicon, and concordance, and in addition received help from Bengel's Gnomon, and Koppe's Annotations.¹ He benefited from this distance from books, because he was forced to labor more diligently in comparing parallel texts, and in meditating upon the chain of thoughts. These Scriptural studies were mingled with much prayer; he regarded the searching of Scripture as the first of his pastoral duties.

Dr. Brown had an extraordinary method of study, for he never took notes of what he read.² His intellectual force and clearness were so great that he recorded his mind's results, victories, and memoranda, as he read. Rarely, did he mark his books, but he always marked his mind with an indelible note.³ From his reading, he gleaned his information and digested it into a "form of knowledge" which was then committed to a memory of singular fidelity and retentiveness.⁴

Though he was capable of great, persistent study, his nature needed and relished intense excitement; he found

1 John Brown, Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, (Edinburgh: 1857), p. ix.

2 James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co., 1858), p. 61.

3 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 17.

4 Ibid.

refreshment and diversion for his mind by reading the highest kind of poetry and fiction. He often said that Sir Walter Scott, Oliver Goldsmith, Robert Fielding, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Austen, and Miss Ferries, were true benefactors to mankind, because in their works, they gave such genuine, secure, and innocent pleasure.¹ One of Brown's highest accomplishments, was his familiarity with general literature; the course and compass of his reading covered a wide field. When his conversation turned to literature, he could readily recall and recite many fine passages; one of his favorite literary recreations was to read selections to his friends. These were read with an intense emphasis or a quavering emotion, that conveyed his complete sympathy with the noble thought of the writer. The mental treasures of his general reading were consecrated wealth, for Dr. James Harper, minister of the North Leith Church and Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology in the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall,² declared, "all was brought by him to the altar of public duty, and dedicated to the service of his Lord."³

The natural result of Dr. Brown's unwearied zeal for study and reading, was his possession of a magnificent

¹ Ibid., p. 31.

² Robert Small, History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1904), p. 505.

³ James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 63.

library.¹ His son writes, "He began collecting books when he was twelve, and he was collecting up to his last hours."² At his death, it consisted of about nine thousand volumes, not confined to one department of literature, but containing books of all kinds and ages.³ There were many volumes of rare pamphlets which were issued in connection with various old Scottish controversies and the stirring questions of the day in his library.⁴ The larger portion of it, however, was Biblical: hosts of commentaries; the best grammars, lexicons, and concordances; with seventy-two different editions of the New Testament.⁵ There were also in it some rare and costly editions of works: "nine editions of Thomas a Kempis; first editions, editiones principes of many foreign and English classics."⁶ His library was evidently deficient in the department of the Fathers. In his preface to "Galatians", in enumerating the commentaries that he had consulted, he quotes Chrysostom with an English title and makes no reference to either the Latin Jerome or the Greek OEcumenius and Theodoret.⁷ He possessed a large number of books, pamphlets,

1 Proceedings of the United Presbyterian Synod, (May, 1860), p. 313; (May, 1861), pp. 433, 434; (May, 1862), p. 535.

2 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 17.

3 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, (August-November, 1860), p. 37.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 38.

6 Ibid.

7 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, (Edinburgh: 1853), pp. xiii-xvii.

and documents, which referred not merely to his own Church--the Secession, with all its subdivisions and reunions--but to Nonconformity and Dissent everywhere. Many works on civil and religious liberty, in every form, were to be found in his vast library, for "this, after the great truths, duties, and expectations of his faith, was the one master passion of his life--liberty in its greatest sense, and largest extent of individual and public spontaneity consistent with virtue and safety."¹

Because Brown lived so much on books and in the midst of books, he formed a strong personal attachment to great men of the past, as distinct from his adherence to their principles and views. His son says that this living on books and attachment to men,

. . . made him, as it were, live and commune with the dead--made him intimate, not merely with their thoughts, and the public events of their lives, but with themselves--Augustine, Milton, Luther, Melancthon, George Herbert, Baxter, Howe, Owen, Leighton, Barrow, Bunyan, Philip and Matthew Henry, Doddridge, Defoe, Marvel, Locke, Berkeley, Halliburton, Cowper, Gray, Johnson, Gibbon, and David Hume, Jortin, Boston, Bengel, Neander, etc., not to speak of the apostles, and above all, his chief friend the author of the Epistle to the Romans, whom he looked on as the greatest of men, with all these he had personal relations as men, he cordialized with them. He had thought much more about them, would have had more to say to them had they met, than about or to any but a

¹ John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 56.

very few living men.¹

To possess books which any of these men might have held in their hands or on which they had written their names gave Dr. Brown keen delight. He had acquired several of these; among others, there were Ulric von Hutten's autograph on Erasmus' beautiful folio Greek Testament, and John Howe's autograph on the first edition of Milton's Speech on Unlicensed Printing.²

Being pre-occupied with his study and absorbed in his books, John Brown, the pastor, tended to withdraw from the fellowship of his children, especially after the death of his first wife. A permanent chill came over the outer surface of his nature and his family felt it. His eldest

1 Ibid., pp. 52, 53. His son pens this personal note about John Brown, "This tendency was curiously seen in his love of portraits, especially of men whose works he had and liked. He often put portraits into his books, and he seemed to enjoy this way of realizing their authors; and in exhibitions of pictures he was more taken up with what is usually and justly the most tiresome departments, the portraits, than with all else. He was not learned in engravings, and made no attempt at collecting them so that the following list of portraits in his rooms shows his liking for the men much more than for the art which delineated them. Of course they by no means include all his friends, ancient and modern, but they all were his friends: Robert Hall, Dr. Carey, Melancthon, Calvin, Pollock, Erasmus, John Knox, Dr. Waugh, John Milton, Dr. Dick, Dr. Hall, Luther, Dr. Heugh, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Balmer, Dr. Henderson, Dr. Wardlaw, Shakspeare, Dugald Stewart, Dr. Innes, Dr. Smith of Biggar, the two Erskines and Mr. Fisher, Dr. John Taylor of Toronto, Dr. Chalmers, Mr. William Ellis, Rev. James Tholuck, John Pym, Gesenius, Professor Finlayson, Richard Baxter, Dr. Lawson, Dr. Peddie; and they were thus all about him for no other reason than that he liked to look at and think of them through their countenances." pp. 48-50.

2 Ibid., p. 54.

son, John Brown, M.D., asserts, "The blood was thrown in upon the centre, and went forth in energetic and victorious work, in searching the Scriptures and saving souls; but his social faculty never recovered that shock! it was blighted; he was always desiring to be alone and at his work."¹ The manse was always silent; in the midst of men and in the midst of his own children, his silences were most predominant.² To a stranger, who visited the manse, he was bright, animated, full of cordial and earnest talk, but when he bid his guest goodbye, he returned to his more natural reticence and sought the quiet solitude of his books. What his family lost, the church and the world gained, for on Sundays he was most communicative and spoke out of the abundance of his heart, his whole mind.

Brown's private religion was deeply personal. He defined religion in these words: "A personal Deity is the soul of Natural Religion; a personal Saviour, the real living Christ, is the soul of Revealed Religion."³ His religious thought was dominated by an otherworldliness; he lived under the power and even the shadow of the next world. "This world," his son relates, "had to him little reality except as leading to the next; little interest, except as

1 Ibid., p. 41.

2 Ibid., p. 41.

3 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Illustrated in a Series of Expositions, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1850), p. vi.

the time of probation and sentence."¹ Sin, his own and that of mankind, haunted and oppressed him, causing him to doubt and to fear the security of his own salvation. Though he firmly believed the basic tenets of the Christian Faith, he lacked a trust and hope that could bridge the chasms of fear and doubt that frequently cut across his thought. His son reveals that,

His constitutional deficiency of hope, his sensibility to sin, made him not unfrequently stand in doubt of himself, of his sincerity and safety before God, and sometimes made existence, the₂ being obliged to continue to be, a doubtful privilege.²

When oppressed with this feeling of fear and uncertainty about life and its end, his son³ testifies that he would repeat Andrew Marvell's strong lines:

"But at my back I always hear
Time's winged chariots hurrying near;
And yonder all before me lie
Deserts of vast eternity."

These fears and doubts belonged solely to Brown's private religious thought, for they were not communicated to the public in his discourses, expositions, or general writings.

John Brown's character and conduct as a pastor were exemplary. His colleague, Andrew Thomson, declares that his people were strengthened by looking on his consistent life; he ascribes to him a rare measure of Christian attainment and

¹ John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (2nd ed., Edinburgh: 1861), p. 51.

² Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

³ Ibid., p. 52.

moral excellence:

. . . what an example of constant self-discipline,--of mingled devotion and attention to the duties of active life,--of fearless conscientiousness and sensitive avoidance of evil,--of deepening humility, with progress in holy character enlarging and brightening to the last like a setting sun!¹

James Marshall, an elder in Broughton Place Church, in an address given at Dr. Brown's Jubilee Services also bears testimony to the consistency of John Brown's life before his congregation and sees it as a fitting reflection and confirmation of his pulpit instructions:

Yours has never been the reproach of having neutralized the effect of high talent and attainment, by inconsistent conduct, or of having undone by imprudence without the pulpit, the good you had accomplished in it looking back this night upon your beautifully transparent course, and upon a character which has passed through the ordeal of a half-century without a stain, we feel as if in that long career of Christian consistency, in that hoary head always found in the way of righteousness, we must now read from Sabbath to Sabbath, the most convincing and impressive sermon of all.²

While at Biggar, John Brown faithfully visited his people. Frequently, he traveled far up among the hills and out into the outlying villages and cottages around Biggar. As customary in that day, he conducted the "diets" of examination in the homes of his people with marked success.³ At

1 Andrew Thomson, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., "The Profitable Remembrance of Departed Ministers," (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co., 1858), p. 17.

2 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., p.55.

3 The "diets" of examination were conducted annually by the pastor. Assembling the young and old, district by district, the pastor publicly catechized them.

such times he greatly excelled in throwing light on divine truth by his questions and comments; the cherished memories of these "diets" of examination lingered with his congregation long after he moved from Biggar.

During the seven years of his ministry to the Rose Street Congregation, Dr. Brown followed a weekly schedule of pastoral duties. The last two days of each week were set aside for sermon preparation. He devoted one day to the visitation of the sick, a second day to the payment of brief pastoral calls, and a third day to the teaching of a Bible class.¹ The Bible class was attended only by women because his attempt to enlist men had been unsuccessful. On the evening of the second day, the families, whom he had visited in their homes, assembled in the session-house; he addressed them and catechized their children.

When Dr. Brown was translated to the Broughton Place Church, he did not vary his pastoral labors much from his former standard. Finding it more difficult to attract the families and children, whom he visited, to a common meeting place, he began to conduct a religious service in every home; he replaced the catechetical lesson with a familiar lecture.² His classes for the young continued unchanged; ultimately, with the development of the Sabbath-school system, he

¹ John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 108.

² Ibid., p. 132.

obtained many assistants, who taught all the children of his congregation and attracted many young people whose parents were not members of any church.

Under Dr. Brown's efficient pastoral administration, the organizational life and activity of the Broughton Place Church grew and flourished. The Sabbath School, which was begun at Broughton Place in 1824, was re-organized on a larger scale in April 1841.¹ The School met each Sunday morning at half-past nine o'clock in the large hall under the church; it was attended by about 250 children and was taught by twenty-eight teachers.² In 1844, a Juvenile Library was established for the children of the Sabbath School.

Throughout his pastoral ministry, John Brown worked anxiously to train his people to missionary effort. Under his leadership, the Congregational Missionary Society of the Broughton Place Church was re-organized into a "Society for the Promotion of Christianity at Home and Abroad" on November 22, 1830.³ The constitution of the society was improved and extended; and an annual report was appointed to be printed and circulated among the members. The contributions of the missionary society were greatly increased; in 1835, the society established its first overseas mission at New Broughton,

1 Alexander White, History of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: Oliphant & Co., 1872), p. 49.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 42.

Jamaica, and in the same year began its home mission in the Canongate.¹ In 1856, the missionary society opened its Calabar Mission at Ikorofiong.² In all, during the thirty years of Dr. Brown's ministry at Broughton Place, the missionary society gave about 38,000 pounds sterling to missions at home and abroad.³

For many years Dr. Brown delivered Sabbath-evening lectures once a month to his Broughton Place Congregation; the collections from these meetings were placed in a Lecture Fund. From this Fund, financial aid was given to weak, struggling churches, which were oppressed with debt and had urgent need for assistance from their more wealthy brethren.⁴ In May 1838, Dr. Brown organized The Juvenile Missionary Association, for the purpose of promoting a spirit of missionary enterprise among the young people and of raising contributions for the spread of the Gospel.⁵ This Association undertook the support of a school in Westray, Orkney. The "Dorcas Society" was also instituted in 1838; it worked a labor of love among the poor of the congregation and the deserving poor in the mission district of Canongate. The only other group, which organized during Dr. Brown's ministry, was The Young Men's Sabbath Morning Class.⁶ It met with

1 Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 47.

4 Ibid., p. 45.

5 Ibid., p. 46.

6 Ibid., p. 49.

immediate enthusiasm; class attendance soon rose to 100.

From 1842 until the time of his death, Dr. Brown was assisted in his pastoral ministry by a co-pastor, Dr. Andrew Thomson, who had been minister of the Lothian Road congregation, Edinburgh, for five years. The remarkable feature about this ministerial collegiateship was that it avoided the dangers of friction and collision and that it continued in unbroken confidence and harmony for nearly sixteen years. Dr. Thomson asserts that this harmony was due in part to the noble character of Dr. Brown, and in part to,

. . . a resolution formed between us on the week after I was inducted as his co-pastor, that if anything was ever done by either colleague that vexed the other, a brotherly explanation should immediately be sought and given,--and in part also in the conviction which was deeply seated in the mind of both ministers, that our people's edification was greatly dependent on our union, and that alienation between the shepherds would be certain to lead to discord and division in the flock.¹

A concluding estimation of the worth and influence of Dr. Brown's work as a pastor can be derived from addresses presented to him by his three congregations at his Jubilee Service. The first address was given on behalf of the Broughton Place Congregation by Andrew Marshall, who expressed the tender affection of his people with these words:

Let us, in fine, our Revered and Honoured Senior Pastor, repeat the assurance of our unanimous and strong affection. There are some few among us still who knew you in your earliest ministry, and who have grown old and grey-headed along with you; some recognise you as

¹ The Jubilee Services and Funeral Sermons of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., p. 29.

the pastor of three generations; multitudes who received from your hands in infancy the baptismal rite, and who have grown up under your ministry to manhood and womanhood, still rejoice to own you as their good pastor, and there are not a few who are among the accessions to the church in the last few years.¹

Andrew Fyfe presented the second address from Dr. Brown's second congregation:

The Congregation of Rose Street remembers, with thanksgiving to God and gratitude to you, the period during which you were their pastor,--when by means of your able, earnest, and unwearied labours, great good was accomplished, and many souls added to the church²

The third address came from his Biggar Congregation and was given by their minister, the Rev. David Smith, who said:

With the congregation which we represent, your first relation as a minister was formed. It was the congregation of your youth, with whom your earliest and some of your best years were happily and usefully passed. If others have enjoyed the labours of your manhood, and reaped the fruits of your advanced and ripened age, the congregation of Biggar received you in the beginning of your strength--young in years, though not in knowledge and attainments, with all the dew of your youth upon you, and they fully appreciated . . . their high privilege.³

II. THE PREACHER

A. His Preaching

John Brown was an eminently successful preacher. From his very first appearance as an itinerant preacher, he was given a popular reception by the people of the Associate Secession Church. They were attracted to him by his juvenile appearance, by his great personal beauty, and by his somewhat

1 Ibid., p. 56.

2 Ibid., p. 67.

3 Ibid., p. 68.

florid and poetical style of preaching. An eye-witness of this period who heard him preach to the congregation of Stow in the south of Scotland, described his appearance and manner of preaching in this way:

His appearance was prepossessing; he was in the bloom of youth; his locks bushy and black as a raven; and I need not say that his eye was intelligent and lively. When he began his service, his manner and tone were striking and solemn, and though at that time he stood still as a statue, from the depth and appropriateness of his illustrations, he was very impressive.¹

Brown's early success as a preacher must have been in part due to his attitude toward preaching. Of all his ministerial responsibilities, he placed his pulpit work first; he did not believe that the duties of the pastor were superior or even equal in importance to those of the public teacher of Christianity.² Another factor that made him popular with the people, was that, though his preaching was colored by his love for literature and poetry, his discourses basically exhibited evangelical truth. An interesting story about Brown's early preaching, illustrates how he remained faithful to the evangelical standards of his Church. A venerable old man, who had heard the whole Brown family preach through their successive generations, went to hear the newly ordained preacher. Being a great enemy of legal doctrine, the old man was startled to hear the young minister announce as his text Micah 6:8, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do

1 Cairns, op. cit., p. 53.

2 Ibid., p. 62.

justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" He listened with keen interest to the preacher and to the development of the doctrine; when the service was ended, he burst into tears. But at length when he had stopped crying, he admitted, "If there was a law text in all the Bible, it was that; but he has preached the sound gospel; for the law doctrine was never in his blood."¹

Soon after the death of his first wife, a remarkable change came over John Brown's preaching. The effect of this incident brought a new depth to his understanding of the Word of God and to his preaching, for his son declared,

But from that time dates an entire, though always deepening, alteration in his manner of preaching, because an entire change in his way of dealing with God's Word. Not that his abiding religious views and convictions were then originated or even altered--I doubt not that from a child he not only knew the Holy Scriptures, but was "wise unto Salvation"--but it strengthened and clarified, quickened and gave permanent direction to, his sense of God as revealed in His Word.²

This change in his preaching was apparent to the people, for his son also recorded this incident about him. When he was very young, he had preached in Galashiels, and after the service one wife said to her "neebor," "'Jean, what think ye o' the lad?'" "'It's maist o't tinsel wark,'" said Jean, for she neither relished nor appreciated his fine sentiments and figures of speech. After his wife's death, he preached

¹ Ibid., p. 55.

² John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1861), p. 11.

in the same place, and Jean noticed the change and ran to her friend and said, "'It's a' gowd noo.'"¹ He not only acquired a new depth to his preaching, but he also changed his entire system and fashion of preaching, obtaining a new warmth. His son reports that,

From being elegant, rhetorical, and ambitious, he became concentrated, urgent, moving (being himself moved), keen, searching, unswerving, authoritative to fierceness, full of the terrors of the Lord, if he could but persuade men He then left the ordinary commentators, and men who write about meanings and flutter around the circumference and corners; he was bent on the centre, on touching with his own fingers, on seeing with his own eyes, the pearl of great price.²

From this time onward John Brown preached with more and more power as he acquired more and more knowledge of the Word of God.

John Brown's real preaching power grew out of his exegetical study of the Scriptures. Giving up his early practice of expending all his efforts upon the devotional amplification, inference, and improvement of a text, he began an earnest attempt "to settle the exact meaning, and to furnish evidence that this meaning and no other could be intended by the sacred writers."³ His preaching became an exercise in interpretation, embracing all the elements of critical exposition. And by introducing a mixture of doctrinal and practical matter into his discourses, he made

¹ Ibid., p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 13.

³ Cairns, op. cit., p. 64.

his preaching suitable to the people of his congregation. Exact Scriptural exegesis or critical exposition became more and more conspicuous in Brown's preaching until it finally became the dominant feature of his pulpit ministry. Dr. Harper in his sermon "The Duty and Reward of the Faithful Servant," speaks at length on the early development of this unique feature within Dr. Brown's discourses:

At the commencement of his ministry, Dr. Brown's discourses were not without traces of a youthful pen, in the choice of his subjects and adornment of his style. But very soon and completely he threw the bent of his talents into the course of exegetical study, in which he latterly attained such undisputed eminence. This was the more remarkable, that at that time the science of interpretation was but little cultivated in the schools of Scottish theology. Literary intercourse with Dr. Charles Stuart, and the writings of Dr. George Campbell, whose originality and critical acumen, Dr. Brown much admired, were, I have reason to believe, the principal means of giving Dr. Brown's mind so decided a taste for the study of exegesis The devout enthusiasm with which Dr. Brown became engrossed with sacred criticism was soon felt in his pulpit ministrations.¹

Critical exposition, as the dominant feature of his later pulpit ministry, came into full beauty and strength during Dr. Brown's Broughton Place Ministry. An excellent description of his work as an expository preacher is given by his colleague and successor, Dr. Thomson, who having heard him deliver his principal expositions, recognised his true

¹ The Jubilee Services and Funeral Sermons of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "The Duty and Reward of the Faithful Servant," by James Harper, pp. 63, 64.

genius in this field:

When he took up the exposition of a book of the Bible, as for example an Epistle of Paul, it was not a mere comment on individual verses, and a bringing from them of useful lessons, but literally an analysis, an opening up of the body of thought in its every connexion and relation, until at the end of the series, the whole inspired composition stood illuminated before you; and in your familiarity with the peculiar modes of thinking and phrases of Paul, you felt as if the great Apostle had become to you a sort of 'inner friend.'¹

Dr. Thomson goes on to relate that Dr. Brown labored with "conscientious and ungrudging toil to understand some of the more difficult passages that tried the skill and scholarship of interpreters, even from the earliest ages, when these sometimes met him in the path of his exposition."² He tells of the time that John Brown paused for many weeks before the obscure passage in the First Epistle of Peter, ch. iii, 19-21, which speaks of Christ going and preaching to the spirits in prison. Thinking much himself, ransacking every commentary in his magnificent library, and praying not a little, he finally found his way to a clear and consistent exposition. "And then," says Dr. Thompson, "what a high luxury it was, after such a process in the study, to see the old minister coming forth into this place with his hoary head, his noble countenance and dark, intelligent, loving eye, uttering in his clear, manly voice, his weighty and well-weighed opinions,

¹ The Jubilee Services and Funeral Sermons of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "The Profitable Remembrance of Departed Ministers," by Andrew Thomson, (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. 30, 31.

² Ibid., p. 31.

and sending you home with the consciousness that you knew your bibles better when you left the church than when you had entered it!"¹

Brown's preaching was distinguished by its tone of authority. He did not assume any sacerdotal prerogatives nor did he attempt to wield domination over men's faith. But he preached with confidence and assurance what he firmly believed. He had no need to appeal to evidence. The Bible was his authority and he solemnly and boldly announced its truths as eternal and indisputable verities, which had been revealed to man by God. When he entered the pulpit, his mind was made up; it could be said that he appropriated the Apostle Paul's motto, "We believe therefore we speak."² When preaching, he never was like one "arguing a case, resting it on probabilities, or placing it at the hazard of succeeding experiments; for he knew that the Gospel has a witness in every man's conscience, and he fearlessly appealed to what Tertullian has called testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae."³ His preaching, therefore, was undemonstrative, not a search for the truth, but pointing it home, not deducing it but applying and commending it to all his hearers.⁴

When preaching, Dr. Brown never spared himself, for

1 Ibid., pp. 31ff.

2 II Corinthians 4:13.

3 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, (August-November, 1860), p. 29.

4 Ibid.

he always delivered his discourses with great physical energy. John Cairns maintained that, "His vehemence was hardly less than that of Dr. Chalmers himself . . . and his appeals, seconded by the glance of the eye and the stamp of the foot, seemed to shake not only the auditory but the very building in which they were uttered."¹ Because all of his sermons and lectures were committed to memory, Dr. Brown was bothered frequently by a hesitation in his delivery. His son, John Brown, M.D., clearly describes how his father delivered his discourses under this handicap:

His voice deep when unmoved and calm; keen and sharp to piercing fierceness when vehement and roused--in the pulpit, at times a shout, at times a pathetic wail; his utterance hesitating, emphatic, explosive, powerful,--each sentence shot straight and home; his hesitation arising from his crowd of impatient ideas, and his resolute will that they should come in their order, and some of them not come at all, only the best, and his settled determination that each thought should be dressed in the very and only word which he stammered on till it came,--it was generally worth his pains and ours.²

After his serious illness in the spring of 1841, he gave up his practice of delivering his sermons from memory and instead read them from his manuscript. Thus the occasional hesitation in his delivery disappeared, but many of his listeners "lamented the absence of the speaking eye, which was one of the most peculiar features of his oratory."³ One last picture of his manner of preaching can be seen in a sketch

1 Cairns, op. cit., p. 102.

2 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., p. 12.

3 Cairns, op. cit., p. 261.

which John Brown Patterson, a second cousin to John Brown, drew:

"His exterior and his manner are very striking, especially in the impassioned parts of his subject. Then his eye gleams with a dark and piercing light; the veins start into prominence on his knit brow, and his whole frame is tossed as with an agony of earnestness. His conceptions become more vivid, his grasp of thought more free, his utterance more rapid and unrestrained. For the time he is an orator of the loftiest stamp."¹

B. His Discourses

1. The Message

The central message of John Brown's discourses was evangelical. The gospel in all its splendor and truth was proclaimed by him with unwearied diligence throughout the whole course of his ministry. In a sermon which he preached on the commencement and also towards the close of his ministry, he declares with equal firmness that "'to make known the mystery of the Gospel,' is the great duty of a Christian minister."² For him, the term "Gospel" signified good news, and he understood it to be "descriptive of the glad tidings of peace and mercy to mankind, through the substitution, obedience, and death of the incarnate Son of God."³

From the "mystery of the Gospel" John Brown derived

1 John Brown Patterson, "Sketches of the Most Distinguished Ministers of the City," Edinburgh Star, (Sept. 17, 1824).

2 John Brown, Parting Counsels, "The Christian Minister's Request to His People, on the Commencement, and Towards the Close of His Ministry," (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 306.

3 Ibid.

what he considered to be the "distinguishing doctrines of the Christian religion."¹ These included the following doctrines: "that God is merciful to sinners through the mediation of His Son; that Christ Jesus has, by his obedience and suffering, obtained pardon and salvation for men; that the bodies of mankind shall be raised from a state of death and corruption, and re-animated by their former souls; that the righteous shall enjoy a state of endless happiness, and the wicked be subjected to an eternity of punishment

. . . ."² The distinguishing doctrines were woven into the basic fabric of all his discourses, for it was his contention that "to illustrate these doctrines in their various connexions and dependencies, to point out their bearings on the duty and happiness of mankind, and to repel the objections of adversaries, form the great work of Christian ministers."³ He believed that ministers were appointed "to declare the whole counsel of God in reference to the salvation of man--to confute gain-sayers, and to build up believers in the knowledge, and faith, and comfort of the truth, as it is in Jesus."⁴

A summary of what Dr. Brown preached and what he outlined as true evangelical preaching, can be found in his lecture, "On the Ministry of Our Lord Its Details and Its

1 Ibid., p. 307.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 308.

4 Ibid.

Results."¹ First, he emphasized the place of Christ in the message, "He only preaches true Christianity who preaches what Christ preached; and he only preaches it rightly who preaches it as Christ preached it He must be the great subject. Christ must be preached; he must be all in all."² He insisted that the Divine mission and whole message of Christ be preached:

His doctrines and laws must be held up, not as the opinions and counsels of the wisest and best of men, Jesus the son of Joseph; but as the authoritative revelation of the mind and will of that God who is the Author of truth, the Father of lights, and the Lord of the conscience, by God's own Son, who is one with him. He must be held up 'as God manifest in the flesh,' the visible representation of the invisible Divinity; the glorious effulgence of the uncreated light; the substantial image of him of whom all creation is merely a shadow,—the great God, our Saviour.'³

Secondly, Brown declared that the fulness and freedom of Christ's salvation, his glorious work, must be present in the message, "His work must be represented in all its glorious extent and absolute perfection, and his salvation in all its fulness and freedom. It must be proclaimed that he is the Saviour of the race; that he came a light into the world; that he came not to judge, condemn, or punish, but to atone, and propitiate, and pardon, and save."⁴ Thirdly, he

¹ John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, III, "On the Ministry of Our Lord: Its Details and Its Results," (Edinburgh: Wm. Oliphant & Sons, 1848), p. 439.

² Ibid., p. 458.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 458, 459.

insisted that to keep a true balance in the Gospel message, the necessity of faith and belief must be proclaimed:

That it is only in the faith of the truth respecting his person and work that the blessings of his free and full salvation can be personally enjoyed; that though he has come a light into the world, it is only he whosoever believeth in him that shall obtain that forgiveness, and enjoy that salvation, that shall not perish, but have everlasting life.¹

Finally, he called for the consequences of neglecting or rejecting Christ, the divine Saviour, to be faithfully stated:

With no uncertain sound must it be proclaimed that there is no salvation in any other; and that men, already in a perishing condition, if not saved by him, must sink deeper and deeper in hopeless perdition for ever and ever. It must be clearly stated, that for these fearful consequences He is in no way answerable; that he is the Saviour, not the destroyer, of men; and that if men, within the limits of the revelation of the saving economy, perish, they are doubly self-destroyers. But it must be added their destruction is not less certain of this. The word which, if believed, would have been to them the gospel of their salvation, neglected, disbelieved, disobeyed, absolutely secures their condemnation and punishment.²

Dr. Brown concluded this summary of what he considered to be the true evangelical message and what he himself preached, by saying, "When these doctrines are distinctly declared, then the gospel is preached; where they are concealed, or where doctrines inconsistent with these are taught, the gospel is not preached."³

When Dr. Brown proclaimed the gospel message, he had

1 Ibid., p. 459.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

certain ends toward which he constantly strove. These were, "The conversion, improvement, and final salvation of those intrusted to his care" ¹ In a sincere attempt to achieve these ends, he applied the gospel message with equal firmness to the believer and to the non-believer, exhorting the believer to further improvement and the non-believer to conversion.

2. The Plan

Dr. Brown planned and built all his discourses upon the basic foundation of the Biblical text. The foundation of each discourse was made firm and secure by a careful exegetical study of the text, which laid bare the essential truth or truths that were to be proclaimed, for Dr. Brown could not "tolerate fanciful accommodations, superficial guesses, or edifying meanings put into texts rather than brought out of them." ² The essential truth or truths of the text, thus discovered, become the central topic or main doctrine of his sermon or lecture. In his sermon "Christian Brotherly Love Illustrated and Recommended" which is based upon the text, I Peter 1:22-25, Dr. Brown expounds the whole text in the light of the injunction, "See that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently." ³ Brotherly

¹ John Brown, Plain Discourses On Important Subjects, (Edinburgh: Alexander Padon, 1852), p. 252.

² Cairns, op. cit., p. 68.

³ John Brown, Christian Brotherly Love Illustrated and Recommended, (Edinburgh: William Matheson, 1843), p. 1.

love is the essential truth of the text; it becomes both the central topic and main teaching of the sermon.

Generally, Dr. Brown also derived the titles of his discourses from the text. From Romans 7:12, "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good.", Brown entitled his discourse, "On the Equity and Benignity of the Divine Law."¹ From II Cor. 6:1, "We beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.", he wrote the sermon, "Receiving the Grace of God in Vain."² Sometimes Dr. Brown preached a series of sermons from the same text; the titles of these sermons were again derived from the one text. He obtained four sermons from Jude 20, 21, "But ye, beloved building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." The titles of these four sermons were: "On Keeping Ourselves in the Love of God"; "On Building Ourselves up on Our Most Holy Faith"; "On Praying in the Holy Ghost"; and "On looking for the Mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ unto Eternal Life."³

In addition to the central topic, the main doctrine, and the title, John Brown usually derived the basic outline

1 John Brown, Plain Discourses On Important Subjects, (Edinburgh: 1852), p. 115.

2 Ibid., p. 67.

3 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, III, (Edinburgh: 1848), pp. 367-438.

of his discourse from the Scriptural text. The introduction of the sermon or lecture consisted of an announcement of the text in full and a brief summary of the background material that surrounded the text. If the discourse was the second, third, or fourth in a series of discourses, he would give a brief recapitulation of the previous one, reminding his congregation of the leading truths or principles that had been discussed previously. The body of the sermon was divided into main points and sub-points. The main points were often taken from the text and varied in number from one to eight. For example in his sermon "The Abolition of Death" which is based upon II Timothy 1:10, "Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, hath abolished death.", Dr. Brown constructs a two point sermon: Our Saviour Jesus Christ; The Abolition of Death.¹ In his discourse "Christ the Mediator of the New Covenant," Dr. Brown sets forth five main points; all of these are to be found in the text, Hebrews 9:15, "And for this cause He is the Mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance."² The five points of the sermon are: Jesus Christ is the Mediator

1 John Brown, The Abolition of Death, (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Son, 1841), p. 1.

2 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, II (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co., 1862), pp. 353-368.

of the new covenant; The great object of the new covenant is, "that they who are called might receive the promise of eternal inheritance."; There must be a redemption of the transgressions which were under the first covenant; Death--and adequate death--must take place; "For this cause¹ He is the Mediator of the new covenant."¹ When Dr. Brown incorporated sub-points in his discourses, he used them to support, to amplify, and to illustrate the main points. Some of his discourses have no sub-points and others abound with them. The didactic character prevailed largely in the introduction and body of his discourses, but the conclusions are dominated by fiery exhortations. The main points and the text are often repeated; then the final exhortations are directed to the believer and to the non-believer. In his discourse "Advantage of Walking in the Old Good Way" Dr. Brown exhorts the believers to further improvement saying, "And ye pilgrim band whose hearts the Lord has touched, who have been made to stand, and see, and ask, and walk in the good way, move onward, move upward. Never think of finding rest out of the way. Delight yourselves in the Lord; drink deep of the cup of spiritual peace put into your hands. Let 'the joy of the Lord be your strength.'"² But to the non-believers Dr. Brown gave this warning exhortation:

¹ Ibid.

² John Brown, Plain Discourses on Important Subjects, p. 214.

O ye who are out of the way, will ye still, notwithstanding all that has been said of the venerableness and excellence of the way of religion, notwithstanding the command to stand, and see, and ask, and walk . . . will ye still madly persevere in those paths in which, if ye believe the testimony of your own hearts, there is no peace, and the termination of which, if ye believe His testimony who is greater than your hearts and knows all things, is "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish?" . . . The gate which conducts into the old good path still stands wide open; and nothing hinders your entrance but your own sinful disinclination. It will ere long, with regard to each of you, be shut--shut for ever. No entering on the good way after having passed through the gates of death.¹ "Now is the accepted time; now is the day of salvation."¹

3. The Style of Composition

The style of composition which John Brown employed in his discourses is mostly plain and unadorned. The colorful and imaginative style of his early sermons and lectures, almost disappears when he begins to write his expository discourses, for he desires to express the exact meaning of the text in a language that is plain and precise.² Thus, the florid and poetical style of his early writings is transformed into the plain and unadorned style of his later compositions.

John Brown's discourses are composed of three different kinds of sentences: declarative, exclamatory, and interrogative. His declarative sentences range from the short and simple on one hand to the long and complex on the other; they include many compound-complex sentences.

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

² Cairns, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

A paragraph from his sermon "Assurance of Salvation, And How to Obtain It," reveals the range between his long and short declarative sentences:

We have all a very deep personal concern in this matter. It is of primary importance to our happiness that we should have the same confident, joyful, well-grounded expectation which Paul had; and it will appear clearly, on our considering the subject, that the way in which he obtained it is as open to us as it was to him; that it can be obtained in no other way; and that it is certain to be obtained by all who duly seek it.¹

Exclamatory sentences are also used frequently and effectively in his discourses. In his sermon "The Abolition of Death" he uses several exclamatory sentences to express his deep feeling:

Our Saviour, the Saviour of every one of us. Oh, what a view does this give us of his grace, and power, and wisdom! What were men? sinners, 'sinners before the God of heaven exceedingly.' How inexcusably guilty, how righteously condemned, how fearfully depraved, how deeply degraded, how variedly wretched, how hopelessly lost! How infinite must be the kindness which could induce any one to become their Saviour; how infinite the wisdom which could form a satisfactory plan for delivering them from such complicated evils; how infinite the power which could carry such a plan into accomplishment!²

Though Dr. Brown used many exclamatory sentences, he employed even more interrogative sentences. Questions are to be found on almost every other page of his compositions. For example in one paragraph of his sermon "Christian Brotherly Love Illustrated and Recommended," he asks nine questions:

¹ John Brown, Parting Counsels, "Assurance of Salvation, And How to Obtain It," (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 268.

² John Brown, The Abolition of Death, (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 6, 7.

Do we love the brethren with a pure heart fervently? Do we love Christians as Christians? Do we love them on account of their relation to God and Christ, on account of their attachment to both, and on account of their resemblance to both? Do we cordially esteem them? Do we affectionately love them? Is our "delight" in them, as the Psalmist phrases it, as "the excellent ones of the earth?" Have we complacency in them? Do we make them the men of our counsel? Have we pleasure in their society, and are we endeavouring, by every means in our power, to promote their welfare?¹

Sentences like the above formed the larger part of Dr. Brown's discourses, but the smaller part was made up of material that was borrowed from other men.

Quotations constitute a small but important part of his sermons and lectures. Dr. Brown makes frugal use of hymns, poetry, and the words of theologians. His favorite Christian poet was William Cowper; his poetry is quoted more often than any other poet. Happily quoted Scripture forms the largest part of Brown's supporting material. Scripture passages are quoted at length to illustrate, to clarify, to support, and to prove a point. Some Scripture becomes thematic for it appears and re-appears again and again. A few of the oft repeated passages include: "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself."; "Peace, peace, when there is no peace."; "Now is the accepted time: now is the day of salvation."; "The wages of sin is death."; "What shall I do to be saved?"; and "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not

¹ John Brown, Christian Brotherly Love Illustrated and Recommended, (Edinburgh: William Matheson, 1843), p. 27.

perish, but have everlasting life."¹

The plain and unadorned style of composition, which Brown achieved in his discourses, was based upon a principle which he held that concerned the language of the preacher in the pulpit. He expressed this principle in his preface to Plain Discourses on Important Subjects:

Good English broad cloth, plain but every way fitted for the important purposes it is intended to answer, seems the fit emblem for the garb of Christian truth when she addresses herself to her favourite work, the cultivation of that field . . . which she has peculiarly chosen for herself--the world--'the common people'--the mass of mankind.²

It is to Dr. Brown's credit that he not only held this principle in mind, but that he practised it as a preacher. Thus, his discourses were clear, always clear. Clearness was their brightness. His hearers were never at loss for his meaning; "every paragraph stood out with mathematical precision and distinctness."³ The truth was set forth with luminous prominence. "His expositions of Divine truth," in the words of one reviewer, "were like the sharply-defined edges of a hill seen against the cloudless sky of a summer evening."⁴ Consequently, Brown's discourses were

1 See the published discourses of Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh.

2 John Brown, Plain Discourses on Important Subjects, p. vii.

3 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, (August-November, 1860), p. 26.

4 Ibid.

eagerly received by the common people of his congregations, because they were written and preached in a plain English that made them lucidly clear to all.

The eminence and diligence of John Brown as a preacher and pastor were recognized and happily acclaimed by his congregations and his friends during his lifetime, e.g. the great Jubilee Service held in Tanfield Hall on April 8, 1856.¹ And after his death, the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, in May 1859, gratefully bestowed this word of honor upon him:

In entering upon its minutes the death of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., Senior Minister of Broughton Place Congregation, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to this Church, the Synod records the deep sense which it entertains of the loss which the Synod and the Church at large have thereby sustained. His unequivocal piety as a Christian, his eminence as a preacher, his diligence as a pastor, as well as the remarkable combination of amiable and faithful qualities which distinguished him in the domestic and private relations of life, and the enlightened and consistent principles and spirit which marked his discharge of the public duties of a Christian citizen, it is sufficient here simply to mention.²

¹ The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 47-132.

² Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1859), pp. 201, 202, 213, 214.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIBERALIZING OF SCOTTISH THEOLOGY

I. INTRODUCTION

During the 19th century, an important change occurred in the doctrinal attitude of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. John Brown, his associates, and his students in the United Presbyterian Church were instrumental in effecting this change and thereby liberalized Scottish Theology. Of necessity, this doctrinal change was wrought from the inside of the citadel of Calvinism by men like Brown, who were thoroughgoing Calvinists but also held some un-Calvinistic doctrine, which became the point of transition from the old orthodoxy to the new Calvinism.

Dr. Brown's theology was eminently Calvinistic. His sermons, lectures, and expositions strongly reflected a high Calvinism after Calvin's own type. How then did Brown's theology, which was called the New Theology or Neo-Calvinism by his opponents, differ from the old Calvinism as exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith? An answer to this question may be obtained by quickly reviewing Brown's theology. Brown himself provided a brief outline of his theological thought in the Summary of Principles which he wrote for the United Presbyterian Church in 1855.¹ This

¹ John Brown, Summary of Principles of the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1855), pp. 9-15.

Summary follows the basic outline of the Westminster Confession of Faith and agrees with it at almost every point except that it asserts more than the Confession would allow and gives little space to the doctrines of Predestination and Election.¹ Brown's Summary is in complete harmony with his theology as it is found in his published sermons, lectures, and expositions, and is therefore an authentic outline of his theological thought.

II. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF BROWN'S THEOLOGY

Of the Holy Scriptures which he believed to be the infallible and inerrant Word of God and the rule of faith and duty, he affirmed,

The Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are proved to be the word of God by miracles, by the fulfillment of prophecy, by the excellence of the truths which they contain, by the harmony of all their parts, and by the blessed effects which they produce.

These inspired books teach us "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man;" and nothing is of authority in religion except what is either taught in them in express terms, or may be deduced from them by necessary inference.²

Brown, like Calvin, was a Biblical Theologian and bowed to the supreme and final authority of Scripture, as a Divine

1 Compare the Summary with Westminster Confession of Faith, chap. iii, Secs. 1-8.

2 John Brown, Summary of Principles of the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1855), p. 9. cf. John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, Vol. I, pp. 18-21.

and infallible record.¹ Of God, he faithfully asserted,

There is one God, the only living and true God, a spirit, infinite, eternal, independent, and unchangeable in his being, and in his power, knowledge, wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth; the creator, preserver, proprietor, and governor of all things; and the sole object of worship.

In the GODHEAD there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in essence one, and in all divine perfections equal, but each possessing a distinct personality indicated by appropriate personal names and acts.²

The Purpose of God, the Works of God, and the Moral Government of God were summarized in three short paragraphs:

God, in the exercise of his holy, wise, and sovereign will, and for the manifestation of his own perfections, formed, in eternity, the plan according to which all things come to pass; "yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures."³

This plan God executes in creation, in which He makes all things very good, and in providence, in which He upholds and governs them, according to his good pleasure.⁴

All the creatures of God are governed by Him, according to laws suited to their nature. Intelligent creatures are subject to his moral law, which is "holy, just and good," and which they cannot break without being guilty of sin, and becoming liable to punishment.⁵

Although in this summary of the Purpose of God, Brown does not mention election, he nevertheless firmly held and asserted this doctrine in his other writings.⁶ He divides the

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, (August-November, 1860), pp. 41ff.

2 John Brown, Summary of Principles, p. 9.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

5 Ibid., p. 10.

6 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1850), pp. 41, 42.

Doctrine of Man into two parts; the first part is concerned with "Man in his original condition and of his fall from it":

Our first parents were created with a holy nature and in a happy condition. In this state of innocence they were placed under the dispensation commonly called the Covenant of Works. As the test of their obedience, they were forbidden to eat of the fruit of the "tree of knowledge of good and evil." and in case of disobedience they were threatened with death, comprehending not merely the separation of soul and body, but the separation of both from the favor and enjoyment of God. They were fully capable of yielding perfect obedience, but abusing their freedom of will, through the temptation of the Devil, they ate the forbidden fruit, and thus forfeited the blessings implied in the Covenant, incurred its penalty, and became guilty, depraved, and miserable.¹

Like most Christians of his day, Brown accepted the Genesis story of the Garden of Eden as literal history. He had no room in his thought for Historical Criticism, especially as exhibited by the German rationalists of his day, for he judged their method of studying the Bible to be a use of "perverted ingenuity . . . to convert that into a veil which was meant to be a revelation."² The second part of the Doctrine of Man, "the state of man since the Fall," was outlined in these words:

As in the Covenant Adam was constituted the head and representative of the entire race, all his natural posterity come into the world subject to the penal consequences of his sin, destitute of holiness, and with depraved dispositions; and as soon as they are capable of using their moral faculties, they by actual transgression increase their guilt and depravity, and

1 John Brown, Summary of Principles, (Edinburgh: 1855), p. 10.

2 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1850), pp. vi-viii.

make themselves liable to heavier punishment: so that, if divine mercy do not interpose, they must, after suffering the miseries of this life, die under the curse, and endure the pains of hell to all eternity.¹

Brown's theology is so completely dominated by Soteriology that other doctrines of Christianity, e.g. Incarnation, Resurrection, Atonement, the Church, the Sacraments, and the Holy Spirit, appear to be nothing more than means to an end, i.e. the salvation of the elect. He divides the doctrine into the Method and the Means; under the Method, he first declares how salvation is procured:

God foreseeing the fall of man, in sovereign mercy, from all eternity, purposed to save a portion of the lost race, and formed an arrangement, commonly called the Covenant of Grace, whereby sin might be atoned for, salvation freely offered to sinners, and that salvation secured to all who had been the objects of his electing love. For these ends the Son of God was constituted the Mediator between God and man, the Covenant Head of his chosen people, and the "Saviour of the world." When the appointed time arrived, He took into union with his own divine person, a perfect human nature, and became Man, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of a virgin, and born of her, yet without sin. Being made under the law which man had broken, He yielded perfect obedience to it, and so far as was consistent with his absolute holiness, endured its penalty both in his life of suffering, and in his death upon the cross. The dignity of his person rendered his obedience unto death infinitely meritorious, and thus a fit ground on which all who believe on his name are justified and receive the Holy Spirit, to the glory of God's righteousness as well as of his grace. In testimony of the acceptance of the Saviour's work by the Father, He was raised from the dead, and received up into Heaven, where, in virtue of his sacrifice, He, as the Great High Priest, makes intercession for his people, and, as Lord of all rules the church and the world. At

¹ John Brown, Summary of Principles, (Edinburgh: 1855), p. 10.

the time appointed He will come again to the earth to raise the dead, judge the world, and make his people perfectly happy with himself in heaven for ever.¹

It should be noted in the above passage that Brown faithfully enunciates the doctrine of election, but along with that Calvinistic particularism, he also contends for an un-Calvinistic (not directly anti-Calvinistic) universalism. For he affirms that the death of Christ is a "fit ground on which all who believe on his name are justified and receive the Holy Spirit," and thus sets forth a more general saving purpose of God, having reference to all men. This general reference of the atonement of Christ which Brown includes along with the particular reference is the point at which he differs with the old Calvinists. The point will be elaborated under the Atonement Controversy. It re-appears in the next paragraph on "How salvation is applied,"

In the gospel the Lord Jesus Christ is exhibited as the Saviour of sinners; salvation is offered through his all-sufficient atonement, to men without exception; and all are commanded to believe the divine testimony, and accept of the proffered salvation. But it is only when the sinner, by the agency of the Holy Spirit, who is promised to all who ask Him, and through the instrumentality of the word, has been convinced of his sin and misery, and has had his mind enlightened in the knowledge of Christ, and his will renewed, that he, through the faith of the gospel, receives Jesus Christ as his own Saviour, and so enters on the enjoyment of the salvation procured by Him, and made known in the gospel.

At death the souls of believers are made perfect in holiness, and depart to be with Christ. Their blessedness shall be completed at the last day, when their souls

1 Ibid., p. 11.

shall be reunited to their bodies then raised incorruptible; and after being in the general judgment acquitted, and acknowledged as the saved of the Lord, they shall be taken to heaven, where they shall be perfectly "blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity."¹

Having described how salvation was procured and applied, i.e., the method, Brown turns to the means of salvation which he categorizes as "partly internal and partly external." Of the first means, he intimates that,

The internal means of salvation are exercises of the mind and heart, produced by the operation of the Holy Ghost through the instrumentality of the word. They are chiefly these two: FAITH IN CHRIST, a crediting of the testimony of God concerning his Son, whereby the sinner receives Him as He is freely offered in the Gospel, trusting in Him as his Saviour, and submitting to Him as his Lord; and REPENTANCE TOWARDS GOD, whereby the sinner believing in Christ Jesus, turns from sin to God, with hatred of sin, and purpose of new obedience.²

Of the second means, he asserts that,

The external means of salvation are the word read or preached, prayer, and other divinely instituted ordinances of religion.

In the WORD is presented the truth with its evidence, whereby, through the influence of the Holy Ghost, faith is produced, and the blessings of salvation are thus communicated.

The blessings of salvation which by the word are made known, offered to all, and communicated to those who believe, are to be sought and expected in the exercise of believing, fervent, persevering PRAYER.

Besides these ordinances, there are two emblematical institutions usually termed SACRAMENTS, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In these, by outward signs, spiritual truths are represented and confirmed, the fundamental principles of Christianity and their evidence are brought before the mind

1 Ibid., pp. 11, 12.

2 Ibid., p. 12.

In BAPTISM the application of water to the body symbolizes the truth, 'that men are purified from sin, freed from guilt and depravity, by the atonement of Christ and the influence of the Holy Spirit,' and the person baptized is recognised as connected with the visible church. The ordinance is to be administered to unbaptized adults on their making a credible profession of their faith in Christ, and their obedience to Him; and to their infants of such as are members of the church.

In the LORD'S SUPPER, by the distribution and use of bread broken and wine poured out, are represented and confirmed the truths, 'that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in human nature, suffered and died in the room of men, to obtain their pardon and salvation,' . . . The Lord's Supper is therefore to be observed by believers as a memorial of Christ's sacrificial death, as a public profession of their faith in Him and subjection to his authority, and as an expression of the communion which they have with Him and with one another.¹

Lastly, Brown set forth his doctrine of the Church:

The Visible Church of Christ consists of all those who make an intelligent and credible profession of faith in Him and obedience to Him, and their infant children. It is a spiritual society, or kingdom, of which He is the only King and Head, and is distinct from earthly kingdoms, and not dependent on them for authority or support.

The design of the Church is the advancement of the glory of Christ, by the maintenance and extension of his cause, in the edification of her members, and the conversion of the world.

The church rulers, called pastors, or bishops (i.e. overseers), or elders, are to be chosen by the members, and are appointed by Jesus Christ to watch over the purity of the society, to instruct the members in his doctrine and law, to superintend their conduct, and to take care that the ordinances be regularly administered. Of these elders, all equally rule, but some also "labour in word and doctrine."²

Church Government by elders, regularly chosen and ordained, assembled in sessions, presbyteries, and synods, in due subordination, is founded upon, and agreeable to, the word of God; and practical subjection to this government is required from all the members of this Church.³

1 Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

2 Ibid., pp. 14, 15.

3 Ibid.

Although this summary reveals that Brown differed with old Calvinism on other doctrines, e.g. his assertion that the Church is not to be dependent on the State for support, the doctrine, which touched off a long, violent controversy in the United Secession Church and which was the real point of difference between Brown's new theology and the old Calvinism, was the Atonement of Christ. The Atonement Controversy was primarily confined to the United Secession Church, and its concentrated fury was directed almost entirely at the two senior professors of the United Secession Divinity Hall, Drs. Balmer¹ and Brown, who held and taught liberal views on the doctrine of Christ's Atonement.²

III. THE ATONEMENT CONTROVERSY

The Atonement Controversy began in March 1841 when the Rev. James Morison, a newly ordained minister of the United Secession Church in Kilmarnock and a former student of Dr. Brown's,³ was called before the Presbytery of Kilmarnock,

1 Dr. Robert Balmer was minister of the United Secession Church in Berwick-upon-Tweed and Professor Systematic Theology in the United Secession Divinity Hall in Edinburgh.

2 John Brown, Statement Made April 1, 1845, Before the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, On Asking Their Advice, (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons, 1845), pp. 5-27.

3 William Adamson in his The Life of the Rev. James Morison, D.D., relates that Morison had a strong attachment to Brown as a Christian and a gentleman; on the other hand, the professor "admired the mental power and erudition of his student, and watched his progress with growing satisfaction. He saw in him the promise and possibilities of a brilliant career as a theologian or as a successful minister of the gospel, and encouraged and directed him in his studies, showing him no little kindness by inviting him to his house for conversation, and giving him the key of his library that he might have free access to the treasures of theological lore therein contained." pp. 38, 39.

charged with teaching error, and suspended from the office of the ministry.¹ In contemplating the nature and extent of Christ's Atonement in connection with the world, Morison was led to adopt views that coincided more or less with the universal theme of the atonement.² He published these ideas in a small tract, What Must I do to be Saved?, which appeared in 1840 prior to his ordination.³ The Presbytery of Kilmar-nock considered the sentiments of this tract to be inconsistent with sound doctrine; he was required to give an explanation of his views and to promise that he would suppress the circulation of the tract.⁴ Shortly after his ordination, it was discovered that he had violated his agreement to suppress the pamphlet; he was suspended from his office on two general charges: erroneous doctrine and disingenuous conduct.⁵ Under the first head he was charged with teaching the following erroneous doctrines:

1. That the object of saving faith to any person was the statement that Christ made atonement for the sins of that person, as he made atonement for the sins of the whole world, and that seeing this statement to be true was in itself saving faith; . . .

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (June, 1841), pp. 19-24.

2 James Morison, The Way of Salvation or, the Question, "What must I do to be Saved?" Answered, (2nd ed., London: Thomas Ward and Co., 1843), pp. 1, 6, 7, 13.

3 Ibid.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (June, 1841), pp. 23, 24; "Report of Proceedings of the United Associate Synod in the Cases of the Rev. James Morison and Rev. Robert T. Walker, Comrie," United Secession Magazine, 1841, p. 5.

5 Ibid., pp. 19, 20.

2. That all men were able of themselves to believe the gospel unto salvation . . . to put away unbelief, the only obstacle to salvation which the atonement has not removed; . . .
3. That no person ought to be directed to pray for grace to help him to believe, even though he be an "anxious sinner" and that no person's prayers could be of any avail till he believed unto salvation; . . .
4. That repentance in Scripture meant only a change of mind, but not godly sorrow for sin; . . .
5. That justification is not pardon, but that it is implied in pardon, that God pardons only in his character of Father, and justifies in his character of Judge, that justification is not the expression of the fatherly favor of God; . . .
6. That election comes in the order of nature after the purpose of atonement; . . .
7. That there were in Mr. Morison's publications many expressions unscriptural, unwarrantable, and calculated to depreciate the atonement, for example, that it is a "talismanic something" . . .;
8. That men could not be deserving of the punishment on account of Adam's first sin.¹

Under the second head he was charged with disingenuous conduct, in having stopped the sale of his pamphlet only till after his ordination and in having led the Presbytery to believe that his views were in accordance with the Secession Standards though he afterwards taught what they considered to be in direct opposition to these Standards.²

Following his suspension by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock, Morison immediately appealed to the Synod; during the interval from March to June, 1841, the doctrines in dispute were anxiously discussed throughout the United

1 Ibid., pp. 20-23.

2 Ibid., pp. 23, 24.

Secession Church.¹ Although Morison was not formally charged with error as to the extent of the atonement, he had surrounded this doctrine with some objectionable peculiarities that excited a strong reaction among the more conservative; it was feared that at the meeting of Synod there would be a violent clash between members who held a more wide view of the extent of Christ's death and members who held a more restricted view.² Sharing this fear along with other leaders and thinking it his duty to caution the Church against extreme measures, Brown inserted a long historical sketch "On the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ" in the United Secession Magazine for June, 1841.³ He defined the question in the following terms:

Some hold that not only did Christ die with the intention of saving the elect, but that he died for all men, so as to lay a foundation for unlimited calls and invitations to mankind to accept salvation in the belief of the gospel; or so as to remove all the obstacles in the way of man's salvation, except those which arise out of his indisposition to receive it; this is a question among Calvinists.⁴

As defined above, Brown believed that the question belonged to Calvinists and not to Universalists or Arminians.⁵ Through-

1 "Report of the Proceedings of the United Associate Synod in the Cases of the Rev. James Morison and Rev. Robert T. Walker, Comrie," United Secession Magazine, 1841, p. 7.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 216.

3 John Brown, "Notes, Chiefly Historical, On the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ," United Secession Magazine, (June, 1841), pp. 285-293.

4 Ibid., p. 285.

5 Ibid., pp. 285, 286.

out the historical survey of the question of the extent of the atonement, Brown attempted to show that the wide and restricted views were compatible and that the early fathers, early reformers, and later divines held to both sides.¹ In one instance he argued that,

John Cameron, whose extensive and accurate learning and critical acumen do honour to his country and age, taught 'that while the elect are, by an effectual irrevocable calling, saved through the death of Christ, Christ died for all men with the intention that they may be invited and called to repentance, and that, when so invited and called, it arises from themselves alone, and hardness of their heart repelling the means of salvation, that they are not saved.' This sentiment was strongly supported by Amyraut, and opposed by Rivet, Spanheim, and Des Marets. Amyraut defended himself with much ability, both from the press and before the synods, and was ultimately honourably acquitted of heresy. His views are supported by Daille, Mestrezat, Claude, and other distinguished French Protestant divines. They became the common doctrine of most of the reformed churches, including the Church of England.

At present, this doctrine, with modifications, is held by the great body of evangelical Protestants on the continent of Europe, of the Congregationalist and Baptist churches in this country, and of both the great divisions of the Presbyterian church in America²

In the Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church of 1827, he discovered that room was made for the wide as well as the restricted view of the extent of the atonement:

If, by placing us in a salvable state, were meant that the anger of God is appeased, by a true and complete satisfaction to justice, so that, without reference to decrees which regulate intention and determine the effect salvation is offered to all men, then doubtless, it is true that, so far as the requisitions of the law and justice are concerned, all obstructions are removed, and

1 Ibid., pp. 285-288.

2 Ibid., pp. 286-288.

every one may be called on as welcome and warranted to claim salvation, on the ground of Christ's finished work.¹

The historical sketch was concluded with a summary of the doctrinal position of the Secession Church on the question under discussion:

It is evident that, during the whole course of its history, the Secession church has been anxious to maintain with equal firmness the doctrine of personal election and particular salvation, and the doctrine of the unlimited calls and invitations of the gospel; and that their great object has been to state the doctrine with respect to the reference of the death of Christ, in a manner which, while agreeable to the word of God, seems best to harmonize with both these doctrines. The controversy now pending, like most on the same subject, respects much less a principle than the manner of stating it, so as to make it 'agree', as Baxter says, 'with the rest of our theology.' Here considerable latitude seems to be required, and probably may be given, without materially endangering either of the great doctrines referred to.²

And to counteract the charge that he was the source of Morison's erroneous doctrine, which was being stated in public and private, Brown also published in June, 1841, a collection of extracts from his own writings, which he deemed to be an authentic exposition of his opinions on the debated doctrines.³ While these extracts revealed some similarity to the views of Morison, for the candid reader, it cleared Brown of being

1 Ibid., p. 291.

2 Ibid., p. 292.

3 John Brown, Opinions on Faith, Divine Influence, Human Inability, The Design and Effect of the Death of Christ, Assurance, and the Sonship of Christ, Expressed in the Published Writings of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 3, 5, 6.

responsible for Morison's innovations.¹ The student's views coincided with the professor's opinions on the following points: Repentance is a "change of mind," leading to godly sorrow; Faith is an operation of the understanding, that leads to confident trust; Faith includes the hope of personal salvation and this faith rests on truth that is independent of the changing moods of the mind.² On this latter point a serious difference was apparent, for Brown held that belief in the reality of benignity and holiness in the Divine character as manifested in the atonement would awaken trust and hope of personal salvation, thus by exercising faith one obtained assurance and salvation,³ whereas Morison fixed upon such propositions as, "Christ died for me," and argued for the personal certainty of salvation from the proposition, "that Jesus has atoned for the sins of the whole world, and therefore for yours."⁴ On the subject of man's ability to believe the gospel, Brown agreed with the great body of Calvinistic divines, drew a distinction between the natural and moral inability of man to believe, and emphatically asserted the absolute necessity of the Holy Spirit's influence,⁵

1 Ibid., pp. 10-46.

2 Ibid. See also, The Way of Salvation by James Morison, pp. 3-15.

3 Ibid., pp. 39-44.

4 James Morison, The Way of Salvation, (2nd ed., London: 1843), pp. 5-8.

5 John Brown, Opinions On Faith, Divine Influence, etc., (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 28-30, 47-52.

while Morison vehemently stated that it was only man's stubborn refusal to believe that kept him from being saved and gave little place to the work of the Holy Spirit in this matter.¹ Morison did not go beyond Brown on the extent of the atonement, for both men held that the death of Christ might be spoken of as a true atonement for all men.² Except that, Morison deviated seriously from his professor when he maintained that Christ died for all men equally, that the atonement did not secure salvation to the elect, and that in the order of nature election came after the purpose of atonement because Brown discouraged all such attempts to divide and arrange the decrees of God.³ Any other peculiarities that were charged against Morison by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock were not to be found in Brown's teaching.

In compiling his Opinions, Brown, for the first time in the controversy, used the phrase, "the general reference," in contradistinction to "the peculiar or special reference of the death of Christ," which were illustrated by him in a long quotation from Polhill, who in turn borrowed these words from an ancient writer: *Etsi Christus pro omnibus mortuus est, pro nobis tamen specialiter passus est, quia pro ecclesia*

¹ James Morison, The Way of Salvation, (2nd ed., London: 1843), p. 13.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., pp. 3-14. See also, What is the Atonement and The Extent of the Atonement by Morison.

passus est."¹ The general and peculiar references of the death of Christ were expressed by Polhill in this way:

God wills that all men should be saved if they believe, and proportionably Christ died for them all; God wills that the elect should infallibly believe and be saved, and suitably Christ died for them in a special way; there is a peculiarity in Christ's redemption answering to the peculiarity of God's love.²

The twofold reference was important because it became the turning-point of the whole Atonement Controversy. Evidently Brown adopted the view at an earlier point in his ministry, for it was plainly stated in his sermon, "The Duty of Prayer for all Men," which was published in the United Secession Magazine and was extracted in his Opinions.³ The twofold reference shines forth in this sermon:

It is certain that God is, in a peculiar sense, the Saviour of those who, through the faith of the gospel, receive the blessings of the Christian salvation; but it is equally plain that God stands in the relation of Saviour, as well as of Creator, and Preserver, and Benefactor, and Governor, to the human race. 'The living God is the Saviour of ALL men, specially of them that believe.' These words plainly teach us that there is a sense in which God is the Saviour of all men, while

1 John Brown, Opinions on Faith, Divine Influence, etc., pp. 52-56. See also, Polhill's Divine Will Considered in its Eternal Decrees, and Holy Execution of Them, (London: 1673), pp. 284-285, 295-298, 322-325. Polhill's translation of the quotation: "Although Christ died for all, he yet suffered specially for us, because he suffered for the Church."

2 Edward Polhill, Divine Will Considered in Its Eternal Decrees, and Holy Execution of Them, (London: 1673), pp. 322-325.

3 John Brown, "The Duty of Prayer for all Men: A Sermon," United Secession Magazine, Vol. III, (Edinburgh: 1835), pp. 296. 297.

there is another and a higher sense, in which he is the Saviour only of them who believe.¹

Unlike his friend and fellow-sufferer in the Atonement Controversy, Dr. Balmer, who made a long and painful inquiry before accepting the conclusion that the atonement was in one sense as wide as mankind,² Brown, who had an early acquaintance with the history of the subject, accepted it without a great mental struggle, looking upon the extended view as no essential deviation from the primary stream of Calvinistic theology.³ It was, nevertheless, an important addition to Calvinism, which would eventually effect a significant change in Scottish Theology.

When the Synod met in Glasgow in June, 1841, after both parties had been heard at great length and members of Synod had delivered their sentiments, the sentence of suspension passed on Mr. Morison by the Presbytery of Kilmarnock was confirmed; his appeal was dismissed; a Committee was appointed to meet with him and to report.⁴ Against this decision Morison registered his protest:

Seeing the Supreme Court has given sentence against me, even to my suspension from the Ministry, on most in-

1 Ibid.

2 Robert Balmer, Edited by John Brown, Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses, with Memoir of His Life, by J. Henderson, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 80, 81.

3 John Brown, "Notes Chiefly Historical, On the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ," United Secession Magazine, (June, 1841), pp. 285, 287.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (June, 1841), pp. 27, 28.

adequate grounds, I protest against the decision, and I shall hold myself at liberty to maintain and preach the same doctrines, as if no such decision had been come to.¹

Morison met only once with the committee; when he refused to retract the views which the Presbytery and Synod declared to be erroneous or to submit to the sentence, his connection with the Secession Church was severed by the Synod.² During the early debates, Dr. Brown pleaded for a milder treatment and dissented from the Synod's first findings, but he quickly became convinced of its practical necessity when Morison refused to submit to sentence and tenaciously held to his views.³ He submitted a statement in which he said that while he continued his dissent on account of the vagueness of the sentence of the Synod, he strongly disapproved of many things in the statement and conduct of Mr. Morison and thought that the action of Synod in not sending him back to Kilmarnock in the exercise of his ministry was right.⁴ He did not require that his reasons of dissent be put upon the Minutes and they were not.⁵ Although in the course of the discussions which arose out of his dissent, Brown denied any identity of opinion with Morison, suspicion and distrust

1 Ibid., p. 28.

2 Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

3 Ibid., pp. 35, 37, 43.

4 Ibid., p. 43.

5 Ibid., p. 43.

remained in the minds of some men;¹ this prejudice of his more zealous antagonists was increased when Morison progressed along an even more liberal path of Arminianism by excluding the Calvinistic elements from his views and helped to found the Evangelical Union.² At the same Synod, the Rev. Robert Walker of Comrie who was charged and suspended from office by the Presbytery of Perth for holding views similar to those of Morison, convinced the Synod that he held no real error, and was restored to his office.³ Prior to his restoration, he gave his assent to the following propositions which were unanimously received by the Synod:

. . . that the glory of God is the great end of the whole scheme of salvation; that, in subordination to this end, he graciously purposed to open a door of mercy to mankind-sinners, and to secure infallibly the salvation of a definite number; and that, to accomplish these ends, the mediation of his Son was appointed.

. . . that the death of Christ bears such a relation to all men, that all men are now free and welcome to come to God through him⁴

1 Robert Balmer and John Brown, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, "Statement Read to the United Associate Synod, in a Committee of the whole house, June, 1842," (Edinburgh: 1844), pp. 82, 83.

2 Ibid. Under James Morison's leadership the Evangelical Union was founded in May, 1843, at Kilmarnock. A Statement of Principles was drawn up by James Morison and signed by all delegates. Four ministers, who had been suspended from the Secession Church for holding erroneous views entered into this Union: Robert Morison, Alexander C. Rutherford, John Guthrie, and James Morison. See Evangelical Union; Its Origin and A Statement of Its Principles by James Morison.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (June, 1843), p. 38.

4 Ibid.

From the line that was drawn in this meeting, the United Associate Synod never deviated; in principle, its views coincided with the views of Dr. Brown. Notwithstanding the position unanimously taken by the Synod and the explanations given by Brown, the disturbed feeling of the Secession Church on the atonement continued; doubts of Brown's orthodoxy were entertained by some.

Thus, when he delivered the opening address of the Theological Seminary in August 1841, Brown warned the students to guard against reckless innovations in the statement of theology and urged them to hold sound doctrine.¹ With the recent loss of a talented young minister still fresh in his mind, Brown wisely offered this advice to the students:

In the examination of religious doctrines, all men, and especially young men, ought to be very cautious. What seems a discovery of a new truth, may be merely a new, and not a better, mode of expressing an old one; or worse than this, may be the revival of an old error under a new phase.²

At the same time, he discussed the extent of agreement that was expected of young men in acknowledging the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, as the confession of their faith.³ He found this to be:

Something far above the dangerous laxness of a pledge to the scope of a confession, and something considerably below the impracticable rigidity of a profession of adherence to every iota contained in it, yet at the same

1 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), p. 70.

2 Ibid., p. 69.

3 Ibid., p. 28.

time clearly intelligible and easily acted on, as a test of purity of doctrine, both at admission and in cases of orthodoxy being called in question¹

This middle-of-the-road interpretation helped to restore confidence, but suspicions still lingered.

To allay these suspicions and to obtain the support of the Synod, Brown resumed his work of explanation in the Synod of May, 1842.² While he renewed his declaration of dissent from Morison's opinions, he declared that his disclaimer of the previous year had "nothing either of retraction or modification of doctrinal statement in it," or that it was uttered simply to secure the permanence of his professorial office.³ Next, Brown clearly refuted an insinuation that a clause in the Secession Testimony of 1827, favorable to the general reference of the atonement, had been surreptitiously inserted "to please Dr. Brown."⁴ Of his work on the Testimony, he said,

I did what I could, along with my brethren, to make that important document as free of faults as possible, but surely, I need not say, I never interfered with that document in any other way; and as to that clause, in particular, when the commencement of the controversy led me to look into the Testimony, I read it with a degree of surprise, as something which had not formerly attracted my attention.⁵

He also stated that the allegations and suspicions against

1 Ibid., pp. 29-32.

2 John Brown, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, "Statement read to the United Associate Synod, May, 1842," (Edinburgh: 1844), p. 82.

3 Ibid., pp. 83, 84.

4 Ibid., p. 84.

5 Ibid.

him had so disturbed his peace of mind that unless the Synod could give him a renewed vote of confidence, he would have to resign his office as Professor.¹ The Synod responded to Brown's statement by giving him a strong expression of entire confidence; only one person declared himself not satisfied.²

The Synod of 1842 continued the work of the preceding one. Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate was suspended from his office for holding doctrines similar to those charged against his son.³ A committee was appointed to meet with Mr. Morison, but like his son, he refused to submit to his sentence and took leave of the United Secession Church.⁴ With the abrupt departure of the two Morisons from the Church, the Synod called the attention of the congregations to the errors of these men by issuing a statement, entitled "Doctrinal Errors Condemned by the United Associate Synod," which was commanded to be read from every pulpit in the Church.⁵ The substance of this statement can be found in the following extracts:

The Synod condemns the assertion, that Christ in dying had no special love to his people that, though the atonement of Christ has a general reference, and opens the door of mercy to all, yet it secures the salvation of none that all the ends to be effected by the

1 Ibid., pp. 82, 83.

2 Ibid.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1842), pp. 24-27.

4 Ibid., pp. 37-40.

5 Ibid., pp. 40-45.

atonement were not necessarily and simultaneously present to the mind of the Son in making the atonement, nor infallibly secured by it.¹

New materials were added to the Atonement Controversy in 1842 and they ultimately helped to excite new agitation within the Secession Church. Dr. Andrew Marshall of Kirk-intilloch, who had led the opposition in 1841 against Morison's opinions and especially his doctrine of universal atonement, published a work entitled The Death of Christ the Redemption of His People in which he made concessions to the liberal side.² While strenuously maintaining that Christ died for the elect, he admitted in a qualified sense that Christ "gave himself for all, and is the Saviour of all":

For all men, for sinners in general, the Saviour died, but not with the intention that they should be saved. He died in their nature, he died in their stead; he died doing honour to the law which they had violated, making reparation to the justice which they had violated . . . removing every legal obstruction that lay in the way of their obtaining life . . . although not determining to vouchsafe them the grace . . . which might induce them to choose life rather than death.³

With this admission recorded in print, Dr. Balmer now stepped forward to plead for a cessation of agitation because he thought the controversy to be practically at an end.⁴ After

1 Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

2 Andrew Marshall, The Death of Christ the Redemption of His People; or the Atonement Regulated by the Divine Purpose, (Edinburgh: 1842), pp. 1, 64-107.

3 Ibid., pp. 70, 71.

4 Edward Polhill, Essay on the Extent of the Death of Christ, from the Treatise on the Divine Will, With a Preface by Robert Balmer, (Berwick: 1842), pp. x, xi, xii.

the Synod of 1842, Balmer republished a work by Edward Polhill; in which the author, a lay theologian of the Commonwealth period, advocated the two-fold view of atonement and emphasized the general reference.¹ To this Essay, Balmer prefixed a recommendatory Preface that was destined to arouse much animosity. Without naming Dr. Marshall, Balmer contended that all parties were now at one in admitting the universality of the atonement, that further controversy respecting the extent of the atonement would be "little better than a mischievous logomachy."² Moreover, while pleading for the use of the term "universal atonement" as best fitted to describe the general reference in the death of Christ, he advised his brethren to be cautious in using the expression which in the near future would probably give "no offence whatever."³ At the same time, he called attention to the "great change effected within the last two years," by the Synod and optimistically wrote:

The doctrine of a general reference in the death of Christ has been officially recognised, such a reference as necessarily implies a universal atonement, for surely nothing but a universal atonement could have opened the door of mercy for all, unless God can pardon sin without a satisfaction. And though the expression is not yet stamped by the seal of judicial approbation, the chief lets to the use of it are taken out of the way; and already it is sanctioned by such authority as will speedily ensure its all but universal adoption.⁴

1 Ibid., pp. i, xv, 24-32.

2 Ibid., pp. xi, xii.

3 Ibid., p. xiii.

4 Ibid.

Balmer's observations, especially the plea for the use of the term "universal atonement" and the hint of progressive change in the doctrinal standards, created much dissatisfaction among the men of the stricter party, who considered it an attempt to obliterate old landmarks of the Secession Church by the use of professorial power.¹ The Preface became the storm-center of new agitation that increasingly involved Drs. Balmer and Brown, who with the resignation of Drs. Mitchell and Duncan in 1843, became the senior professors of divinity in the United Secession Church.²

At the meeting of the United Associate Synod in October, 1843, two overtures were received from the Presbytery of Paisley and Greenock, the first one, proposing that "the Synod should enter, at an early day, into a free and confidential conversation regarding the differences that divided the body, and that the two senior Professors be requested to be present, and to deliver their sentiments on the subject," and the second one, asking that the Synod should examine the Essay and Preface recently republished by Dr. Balmer to determine whether they be in harmony with the Standards of the Church.³ The first overture, being more comprehensive, was

1 Andrew Marshall, The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated or Modern Views of the Atonement, Particularly Those of Dr. Wardlaw Examined and Refuted, (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1844), pp. 229-236.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1843), pp. 18-20.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (October, 1843), p. 22.

taken up in a committee of the whole house, at which time the professors delivered statements on the controverted doctrine.¹ As the more seriously incriminated party, Dr. Balmer led off with a speech of over two hours.² On the extent of the atonement, he readily admitted that "from eternity a definite portion of the human race were chosen in Christ to salvation," that "in time God graciously saves a limited, and only a limited, number of our fallen family," and that "the death of Christ . . . secures infallibly, the salvation of the elect."³ Balmer also emphatically asserted his belief in "the principle that the atonement is a general remedy, that it has opened for all the door of mercy," and that the Son of God has removed all legal and external barriers to the non-elect and has brought eternal life within the reach of all mankind, so that "every one may now be called as welcome, and warranted to claim salvation on the ground of his finished work."⁴ The charges against his Preface and Polhill's Essay were met by showing that in these there was no material deviation in doctrine from that recently announced by the Synod, i.e. "that the atonement opens to all the door of mercy; and that viewed in connexion with covenant engagements, it ensures the salvation of the

1 Ibid., pp. 22-24.

2 Robert Balmer, John Brown, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, Made, October 5, 1843, before the United Associate Synod, at their request, by their two Senior Professors, (Edinburgh: 1844), pp. 3-60.

3 Ibid., pp. 4-6.

4 Ibid., pp. 9, 10, 17.

elect."¹ Next, Dr. Brown followed with a terse but luminous statement of his opinions on the doctrines in question, which as he declared were in "entire accordance with the views" of Balmer and which in substance were exactly the same as what he had said in his historical sketch and Opinions.² He concluded his statement with these firm personal references:

. . . were my views of these subjects or on any subject not in my own clear conviction accordant with the avowed sentiments of this body, as they are expressed in our symbolical books; and if I were not persuaded that this is the opinion of the majority of my brethren, I would not continue an hour a minister, much less a teacher of theology in connexion with this body . . . and, if there be any who think that, in my statements, they see what is inconsistent either with our supreme or our subordinate standards, I have to request of them, not as a favour, but as an act of justice to the church as well as to my self, that they charge me with that inconsistency in regular form, and bring the matter to a satisfactory issue before the competent tribunal.³

No person in that Synod disputed the consistency of Brown's statements with the Church's Standards and no one came forward to take up his challenge to make a regular charge either against Balmer or himself. Instead the whole Synod, after a long and confidential discussion, declared itself satisfied and unanimously agreed to this conclusion:

That, on explanation, supposed diversities of sentiment in a great measure disappeared, and that scriptural harmony prevailed among the brethren; that, in particular, on the two aspects of the atonement there was entire harmony; namely, that in making the atonement,

1 Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

2 Ibid., pp. 67, 68.

3 Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

the Saviour bore special covenant relations to the elect, had a special love to them, and infallibly secured their everlasting salvation; and that his obedience unto the death afforded such a satisfaction to the justice of God as that on the ground of it, in consistency with his character and law, the door of mercy is opened to all men, and a full and free salvation is presented for their acceptance.¹

It was also decided that ministers should abstain from using such ambiguous terms as "universal atonement" and other equivocal expressions.² The subject of the second overture, having been discussed with the first, the Synod decided that it was not necessary to entertain it.³

The Synodical inquiries of 1843, respecting the orthodoxy of the two senior professors, happily concluded in their favor and seemed to forward the peaceful settlement of the controversy, but the storm was not yet spent.⁴ Brown's farewell words to Balmer after the Synod were, "take care that the clouds do not return after the rain,"⁵ his sagacious warning was shortly justified in fact. In compliance with an urgent request of many brethren, the professors felt at liberty to publish their Statements, in 1844, which had been made

¹ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (October, 1843), pp. 26, 27.

² Ibid., p. 26.

³ Ibid., p. 30. See page 75.

⁴ Robert Balmer, John Brown, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, (Edinburgh: 1844), pp. i-vi.

⁵ John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 237.

behind closed doors.¹ The publication and circulation of these Statements stirred up fresh controversy.

Again, Dr. Marshall led the attack of the stricter party. In 1844, Marshall made an extended retraction of the wider views of the atonement which he had expressed in The Death of Christ the Redemption of His People.² This retraction appeared in the preface to his work The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated;³ of the atonement, he asserted,

I will not abide by everything I have formerly written on the subject I have used language which I would not use now: and have quoted with approbation the language of others which I would not quote without censure now Several things, however, are said about the atonement being a general remedy, and about the kind of justice it satisfied, which I regret having said, and will no longer maintain.⁴

The main part of Marshall's book consisted of argument against Dr. Ralph Wardlaw's theory of the nature and extent of the atonement as set forth in Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ.⁵ Wardlaw's theory of the extent of the atonement differed from that of Drs. Balmer and Brown,

1 Robert Balmer, John Brown, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, (Edinburgh: 1844), p. iv; See Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (October, 1843), p. 23.

2 Andrew Marshall, The Death of Christ the Redemption of His People (Edinburgh: 1842), pp. 70, 71; The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated, (Glasgow: 1844), pp. 3-8.

3 Andrew Marshall, The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated, (Glasgow: 1844), pp. 3-4.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., pp. 11-184.

especially in making the purpose of election come after instead of before that of atonement.¹ In the Appendix to his work, Marshall severely criticized the published Statements of Balmer and Brown, and frankly accused them of holding doctrine that was substantially the same as Wardlaw's, and which virtually abolished the essence of the atonement.² He also expressed some insinuations against the professors although he refused to examine the truth of these charges:

It may be found that the two professors, although they taught nothing contrary, have yet not taught the doctrine of the standards which they were appointed and expected to teach. It may be found that a flood of Pelagianism has for years been issuing from our Divinity Halls, and overspreading the churches, without the Christian people being put on their guard³

At the meeting of Synod in May 1844, Drs. Balmer and Brown lodged a complaint against Marshall's unexamined and unproved insinuations.⁴ The committee appointed to examine the complaint, met with Dr. Marshall and found that he did not mean to insinuate that the two senior professors "taught what they did not believe to be true, or that they taught what they did not believe to be in consistency with the Standards of the Church; further he promised to suppress the

1 Ralph Wardlaw, Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ, (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1843), pp. 83-123.

2 Andrew Marshall, The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated, pp. 229-251.

3 Ibid., p. 250.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1844), p. 36.

Appendix altogether."¹ The professors expressed their satisfaction with Marshall's statement and took the opportunity to add these declarations:

. . . that in their own apprehension, no language ever used by them countenanced any Pelagian error; and, in particular, that the expressions 'opening the door of mercy to all,' 'removing legal and external barriers to salvation,' and 'atonement having a general as well as special reference,' are not understood by them to mean, that the atonement, in order of nature, precedes election; or that it opens for all a way of salvation, without securing the salvation of any, and that then sovereign love comes in to complete the arrangement, by ordaining the elect to life.²

The Synod of 1844 also received a request from the Rev. Alexander Balfour of Lethendy, to review the decision on the overtures from the Presbytery of Paisley and Greenock.³ The Synod refused to disturb the decision of October, 1843;⁴ and clarified the meaning of the decision by stating, "that it was not intended as an alteration of the Standards of our Church, but rather as a declaration of the existence of harmony in regard to the system of divine truth, which these Standards contain."⁵

From this Synod Dr. Balmer returned home to die on July 1, 1844; Dr. Brown was left to struggle through the remaining phases of the controversy alone.⁶ With deep

1 Ibid., p. 41.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 29.

4 Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

5 Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

6 Robert Balmer, Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses, With Memoir of His Life, by J. Henderson, Edited by John Brown, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1845), p. 65.

affection for his friend and colleague, Brown wrote his epitaph and edited two volumes of his Academical Lectures and Sermons.¹ Although Balmer himself was dead, his Preface to Polhill remained as a source of irritation and the conflict continued to rage.

Cherished hopes for peace were shattered shortly after the Synod of 1844, when Dr. Marshall in a letter to the Editor of The Presbyterian Review intimated,

. . . that by suppressing the Appendix (The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated) I only meant not republishing it, in case the work should go to a second edition . . . that I do not consider myself bound, by anything I said in the committee of Synod, to withdraw the Appendix, or any part of it. Circumstances have transpired, which, in my opinion not only warrant, but require me to modify the purpose I was then inclined to entertain.²

Marshall did not republish the Appendix, but in February, 1845, he sent forth Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled Statements on Certain Points, a pamphlet that caused great excitement among the men of both parties and helped to bring the controversy to its climax and close.³ In re-examining the Statements of Drs. Balmer and Brown, he critically pronounced their doctrines to be,

. . . unsound doctrine, not the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . not the doctrine of the holy Scriptures

1 Ibid., pp. iv-x, 118.

2 Andrew Marshall, "Letter," The Presbyterian Review, (November, 1844).

3 Andrew Marshall, Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, Made October 5th, 1843, Before the United Associate Synod, (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. iii-viii.

as hitherto received and taught in our church, and embodied in our standard books . . . Arminian doctrine . . . Pelagian doctrine . . . subverting the doctrine of election . . . rendering the gospel little better than a solemn mockery¹

He also indicated that a strong reactionary movement against the doctrine of the Statements was growing among the presbyteries and offered these strictures as a "humble contribution" to its success.² This movement began in the Presbytery of Perth, which agreed to memorialize the Synod to revise the resolution of October, 1843, in which it was declared that "Scriptural harmony prevailed among the brethren";³ it was followed in quick succession by memorials from other presbyteries, some in favor and others opposed to re-opening the question.⁴

In the midst of the increased excitement that was caused by Marshall's letter and pamphlet and by the memorials of the presbyteries, Brown complained that charges were circulated against him through the press and not properly brought before the Church Courts.⁵ He read a paper to the Presbytery of Edinburgh asking them if he ought to petition

1 Ibid., pp. 2, 16, 75, 77.

2 Ibid., pp. 74, 75.

3 Andrew Robertson, History of the Atonement Controversy, (Edinburgh: 1846), pp. 202, 203.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1845), pp. 19-21.

5 John Brown, Statement Made April 1, 1845, before the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh On Asking Their Advice, (Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons, 1845), p. 27.

the Synod either for protection from false allegations or for a fair trial.¹ In this Statement, which was also presented to the Synod, Brown met Marshall's charge of subverting the suretyship and substitution of Christ by arguing that "the work of Christ is one but it serves more than one purpose,"² and in obeying the precept and enduring the penalty of the law of God, to any portion of mankind, Christ did "what all men were bound to do, he suffered what all men deserved to suffer,"³ and consequently "a sincere offer of pardon and salvation is made to mankind-sinners as such."⁴ After the term "substitution" had been applied in its restricted sense to Christ's relation to his Church or his elect people, Brown considered it merely a question as to the meaning of a word in its unrestricted sense whether it might not also be extended to denote all mankind.⁵ He thought that the above doctrine could be taught without using the novel phrase "double substitution," but he energetically asserted,

. . . the doctrine of the general aspect of the death of Christ must not be given up. That is an essential principle of Christian truth. The clear exhibition of that truth has been one of the characteristic glories of the Secession in the whole course of its history.⁶

This last assertion was intended to counteract the new and radical tendencies of Marshall, who with a melancholy consistency had begun to condemn the theological language of the

1 Ibid., p. 28.

2 Ibid., p. 23.

3 Ibid., pp. 21-23.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid., p. 23.

6 Ibid., p. 24.

Secession, e.g. that Christ's death had removed "legal bars" to salvation, and "opened the door of mercy."¹ Marshall also maintained that the gospel offer was to be made to all men but that the offer itself was a salvation strictly limited to the elect for "Christ has come to save only a select people," and that every man in believing the gospel was to assume that the salvation was intended for him.² Furthermore, even if only three men were to be saved by the blood of Christ, every man was to believe with assurance that he was one of them;³ in this Marshall came around to Morison's idea of assurance, which was that every man was to hold that Christ's death had saved him.⁴

When the United Associate Synod met in Broughton Place Church, on May 5, 1845, Dr. Hugh Heugh of Glasgow, who had called for a peaceful termination of the controversy in a pamphlet entitled Irenicum,⁵ skilfully led a party that discouraged further controversy.⁶ A very large number of

1 Andrew Marshall, Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 35-39.

2 Ibid., pp. 42-46.

3 Ibid., pp. 46, 47.

4 James Morison, The Extent of the Atonement or the Question for Whom Did Christ Die? Answered. (Kilmarnock: J. Davie, 1841), pp. 6-9.

5 Hugh Heugh, Irenicum: An Inquiry into the Real Amount of the Difference Alleged to Exist in the Synod of the Secession Church, on the Atonement, and Doctrines Connected with It, (Glasgow: 1845), pp. 7-58.

6 "Proceedings of the United Secession Synod," United Secession Magazine, (June, 1845), pp. 279-281.

petitions, memorials, and overtures had been sent to the Synod by presbyteries, sessions, and individuals.¹ Fresh controversy was expected, but Dr. Heugh introduced a motion that was approved by a two to one vote in which the Synod refused "to enter further into these doctrinal discussions";²

earnestly recommended to the memorialists and all others under their charge, "to abstain from this unprofitable strife."³

Dr. Brown read a statement, containing a complaint against Dr. Marshall, which he had first presented to the Presbytery of Edinburgh in asking their advice, in which he asked the Synod to investigate the charges brought against his orthodoxy, or to protect him from them, or to relieve him of his professorial duties.⁴ Brown's conduct in appealing to the Synod for help was heartily approved and confidence in his orthodoxy was expressed in these words:

. . . the Court entertains a high sense of the learning, talent, and devotedness with which Dr. Brown has discharged his professorial duties: and that, as respects more particularly the doctrinal questions now agitated, the Synod, satisfied with the explanation which Dr. Brown has given in his Statement and otherwise, have entire confidence in his soundness in the faith, and they earnestly trust that he will continue to discharge his

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1845), pp. 19, 20. There were 47 petitions and memorials against the Synod's act of October, 1843, and other decisions of the Synod on Atonement, and 27 petitions and memorials against further discussion.

2 Ibid., p. 21.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid., p. 31.

important functions with equal honour to himself and benefit to the Church.¹

Next, the Synod by a large majority, admonished Dr. Marshall for failing to keep his promise to suppress the Appendix in which he brought "serious charges" against Dr. Brown and many other brethren without sufficient grounds,² for having reiterated these charges in a more "offensive form,"³ and for pursuing an unconstitutional course, "inasmuch as if he really believed such doctrines were held and promulgated, he ought to have brought the matter before the Church Courts in the only competent way."⁴ In the course of the heated discussions on the above motion, Dr. Marshall announced several times that he was able to substantiate his charges against Brown in the church courts;⁵ quickly rising to the challenge of his antagonist, Brown said,

. . . Dr. Marshall stands up there, and distinctly says that he considers himself able to substantiate before this court the charge of Pelagianism and Arminianism against me. I call upon this court to defend me, I call upon Dr. Marshall, if he is able to substantiate his charge, to do so.⁶

When a motion was made that he either substantiate or retract his charges, Marshall immediately declared "his readiness to substantiate the charges at the bar of that court,"⁷ and

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., pp. 32-34.

3 Ibid., p. 32.

4 Ibid.

5 "Proceedings of the United Secession Synod," The United Secession Magazine, (June, 1845), p. 332.

6 Ibid., p. 333.

7 Ibid.

after giving his reasons for writing in the defence of the principles of his Church, he accepted the vote of admonition and was admonished by the Moderator pro tem, Rev. Elliot of Ford.¹ Before the close of the Synod, Marshall intimated that he intended to bring a libel against Brown; the Synod was adjourned to meet again in Broughton Place Church, July 21, so that he might have an opportunity to present his libel prior to the next session of the divinity hall.²

When the Synod met in July, Marshall asked that the libel be delayed until May, 1846, but condemning this as unjust to Dr. Brown, who refused to conduct the approaching session of divinity hall under the threat of a libel, the Synod opened the way for him to present the libel at that meeting.³ Accordingly, Dr. Marshall handed in a prepared libel which was seconded by Dr. Hay of Kinross.⁴ The libel was drawn in the form of a syllogism; in the major premise Brown was charged with teaching five doctrines contrary to the Scripture and the Standards of the United Secession

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1845), pp. 33, 34.

2 "Proceedings of the United Associate Synod," The United Secession Magazine, (June, 1845), p. 340.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), pp. 19, 20. When Dr. Marshall persisted in his attempt to delay the libel, the Synod ordered him to proceed with it at once, p. 25.

4 Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

Church;¹ and in the minor premise he was charged with avowing and promulgating these doctrines in the pamphlet, Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, made by Drs. Balmer and Brown in October, 1843, before the Synod;² in the conclusion it was asserted that he ought to be "found and declared" deserving of censure.³ Whereupon, the Synod ordered the libel to be printed, sent to all its members, and agreed to consider the libel on the 29th July.⁴

The libeling of Dr. Brown aroused great interest and anxiety in the Secession Church; a large number of ministers and elders were present at the opening of the trial.⁵ Many thought that this would be the final phase of the controversy and that it would lead either to renewed confidence or to separation.⁶ Dr. Brown lodged his Answers and Defences to the libel with the Synod; although nine out of the twelve citations charged with heresy were statements made by Dr. Balmer, he consented to defend both his own views and those of his former colleague with whom he had expressed entire

1 Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology of the United Secession Church, at the Instance of Drs. James Hay and Andrew Marshall, before the United Associate Synod, July, 1845, (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 13-16.

2 Ibid., pp. 16-20.

3 Ibid., p. 20.

4 Minutes, (July, 1845), p. 25.

5 "July Meeting of Synod," The United Secession Magazine, (September, 1845), pp. 476, 477.

6 Ibid., p. 477.

accordance.¹ His answers were taken chiefly from their published works; in doing this, he offered the Court the following explanation:

. . . when the same charges are anew brought forward, though in a slightly altered form, having already given what he knows to be a true, and has found to be a sufficient answer, he can see no advantage in taxing ingenuity by seeking a new reply.²

In discovering a plan of procedure, the Synod was forced to depart from technical order inasmuch as the libel was inaccurately drawn up and could have been dismissed on technical grounds.³ Since this latter procedure would not have satisfied Dr. Brown, the libellers, or the Church, the Synod decided to "hear the parties on each of the charges or counts against Dr. Brown in their order," and then proceed directly to consider and decide the relevancy and proof of each count seriatim.⁴ Accordingly, each count of the libel was read; first Dr. Marshall, advancing to the bar, supported it, and then Dr. Brown stepped forward to give his replies, which were extremely brief since he primarily rested his case on the answers and defences that he had already given to the

1 Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 21, 22.

2 Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

3 Ibid., pp. 33-36. It was not in truth a correct syllogism because the major proposition libelled one set of alleged errors, while the minor proposition deduced other errors from Brown's writings.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), p. 34.

Court.¹ This was followed by a discussion and vote on each count; the trial continued for a little over four days.

The five false doctrines which Brown was charged with publishing and promulgating by Drs. Hay and Marshall were given as follows in the libel:

1 the doctrine that God's electing decree or purpose of salvation does not define, fix, and unchangeably determine the portion of mankind whose salvation is possible, but that sinners not included in that purpose or decree, have, by the death of Christ, been brought into a salvable state; 2. the doctrine that the Scriptures nowhere affirm that men are deserving of death, in its whole extent, on account of their connexion with Adam in his first sin; and that the amount of evils and sufferings to which they are legally obnoxious in consequence of that sin is not determined, either in the Scriptures, or in the subordinate Standards of the United Secession Church; 3. the doctrine that Christ has not died for the elect only, or made satisfaction for their sins only, but that he has died for all men, and made atonement or satisfaction for the sins of all men; 4. the doctrine that the obedience unto the death of the Son of God is sufficient for the salvation of men, not from its intrinsic worth, which is allowed to be infinite, but from a certain divine appointment or intention, ordaining it to be sufficient . . .; 5. the doctrine that Christ in dying was not the substitute of his own people alone, but was the substitute also of others, and, in that capacity, bore the punishment due to the sins of others.²

On the first count, Brown was charged with denying the immutability of Divine decrees, especially the doctrine of election, but the evidence brought forward showed only that salvation of the non-elect was not prevented by the decrees

¹ Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 43, 58, 59, 69, 95, 108. See Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), pp. 36, 37, 39, 41, 42.

² Ibid., pp. 13, 14.

of God but by their own lack of belief and only in this sense were the non-elect in a salvable state.¹ The Court, therefore, acquitted Brown of holding unsound doctrine on the first count.² In the second count, which had to do with the doctrine of original sin, the Synod found that no evidence had been adduced which proved Brown's teaching on the doctrine to be inconsistent with the Scriptures or subordinate Standards of the United Secession Church.³ In clearing him, they expressed their satisfaction with Brown's exposition of the subject:

That in consequence of the peculiar constitution under which man was originally placed, commonly called the covenant of works, on Adam violating this constitution, his son became by imputation the sin of all mankind, and his fall their fall; that by this fall the race, the whole race, every individual of the race, was brought into a state of sin and misery; a state of sin, or original sin and actual guilt and depravity; and a state of misery, of exclusion from the divine fellowship, exposure to the divine wrath and curse, and liability to all the miseries of this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell for ever.⁴

The third count involved the extent of the atonement, the basic question of the whole controversy; a long and heated debate ensued at the beginning of which Dr. Brown reiterated his disclaimer of the atonement as held by Universalists and

1 Ibid., pp. 40-52.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), p. 37.

3 Ibid., p. 38.

4 Ibid.

Arminians.¹ After many hours of excited discussion, the Synod acquitted Dr. Brown by adopting this motion:

. . . that Dr. Brown expressly rejects the Arminian doctrine of universal redemption, and holds the doctrine of the Reformers, of our Standards, and of the decisions of the Synod on this subject; namely, that the death of Christ, viewed in connexion with covenant engagements, secures the salvation of the elect only; but that a foundation has been laid in his death for a full, sincere, and consistent offer of the gospel to all mankind.²

The meaning of the fourth count caused perplexity and misunderstanding; members differed on their interpretation of its ambiguous intent.³ The Synod absolved Brown on this count and declared that "this part of the libel was altogether unfounded."⁴ Along with other orthodox theologians, Brown held that Divine appointment was necessary to constitute the death of Christ sufficient propitiation for all who believe.⁵ Of the fifth count, which charged Brown with teaching that Christ was the substitute of all men and thus subverting his substitution in place of the elect, the Synod found no error in Brown's teaching and voted to acquit him, but a small minority thought that his language was inconsistent with the

1 Ibid., pp. 39, 40, 41.

2 Ibid., p. 39-41.

3 Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 95-107.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), p. 42.

5 Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), p. 29.

received doctrines of the Church.¹

Having completed consideration of the separate counts of the libel, different parties of the Synod expressed satisfaction that Dr. Brown had been entirely cleared of all charges of heresy.² Mr. James Peddie proposed a motion of general deliverance which was unanimously adopted:

The Synod, on a review of its deliberations and decisions during this and the last six sederunts, finds, that all the charges made against Dr. Brown have been disposed of, being severally declared to be unfounded; finds that there exists no ground even for suspicion that he holds, or has ever held, any opinion on the points under review inconsistent with the Word of God, or the subordinate Standards of this Church. The Synod therefore dismisses the libel; and while it sincerely sympathises with Dr. Brown in the unpleasant and painful circumstances in which he has been placed, it renews the expression of confidence in him given at last Meeting, and entertains the hope that the issue of this cause has been such as will, by the blessing of God, restore peace and confidence throughout the Church, and terminate the unhappy controversy which has so long agitated it.³

When the Moderator intimated to Dr. Brown the decision of the Synod, he very solemnly replied:

Moderator, I retire from your bar, at which, for these four days, I have appeared as a panel, with mingled emotions, with deep regret that I should have been the occasion, . . . of so much trouble to this Court, with entire satisfaction with the sentence to which, after so much patient investigation, they have come, with humble gratitude to God for relieving me from imputations so injurious to my usefulness to this Court as the instrument of His goodness. For the expression of their

¹ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), pp. 42, 43.

² Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), p. 29.

³ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), p. 44.

sympathy, and for this renewed assurance of their confidence, I return my heartfelt thanks.¹

The Moderator now announced to Dr. Marshall the decision of the Court.² Laboring under considerable emotion, Marshall, who was obviously filled with fiery disappointment, replied,

I have done what I felt to be my duty in the circumstances in which I am placed I hope good will result from it I offer no opinion on the finding of the Court yet I strongly felt that the case was not proceeded in regularly, nor brought to a regular issue. Your own form of procedure required, and, in my opinion, justice required, that you should first have proceeded to consider the relevancy of the libel, the relevancy, count by count, ere you came to consider the probation I have been taken at present somewhat by surprise, and am not prepared to speak; but I wish not to be understood that I have intimated my dissatisfaction with the finding of this Court.³

The Synod was concluded in harmony and peace, and a new unity pervaded the whole body when a solemn prayer of thanksgiving was offered by Dr. Kidston, the father of the Synod, and the Court united together in singing the 133rd Psalm.⁴ Brown's son described the closing scene in these impressive terms: "There was a Divine gentleness and peace came over the whole Synod, and every one felt in a better sense than of old that Deus interfuit."⁵

1 Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1843), p. 122.

2 Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

3 Ibid., p. 123.

4 Ibid.

5 John Brown and D.W. Forrest, Letters of Dr. John Brown, (Adam & Charles Black, London, 1907), p. 59.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this way, the Atonement Controversy, which had critically threatened to divide the United Secession Church and which had exhausted its violent forces on Dr. Brown, came to an end. The alienating influence of this stormy strife soon disappeared; a spirit of unity and peace was restored to all parts of the Secession Church, healing the wounds and mending the broken places. Increased confidence and affection were showered upon Brown; his position as minister, teacher, and leader were enhanced rather than impaired by the controversy.¹ At no time during the long controversy did Brown lack the support of the Synod and his Broughton Place Congregation. The Synod's consistent support of Dr. Brown was nothing less than a loyal defence of their own orthodoxy. Through painful and personal controversy Brown led his denomination to accept in fact what was already accepted in practice, a more liberal interpretation of doctrinal theology, and thus gained a more reasonable freedom than had formerly been conceded.² John Cairns, who was successor to Dr. Balmer at Berwick-upon-Tweed, affirmed that,

. . . the controversy, though confined, with the exception of the Scottish Congregationalists, to the United Secession

¹ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (July, 1845), p. 44; Report of the Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1845), pp. 120-122.

² Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (October, 1846), p. 25.

Church, has, by its remote, as well as its direct impression exerted a valuable influence in liberalizing the tone of Scottish theology, while it has done nothing to derange its equilibrium or remove its landmarks.¹

This wider interpretation of the symbolical books brought relief to many people who were perplexed by the apparent inconsistency between a universal offer of salvation and a limited atonement.² The wider view of the atonement became an integral part of the doctrine of the United Presbyterian Church; the Atonement Controversy promoted the Union of the Relief and Secession Churches, "not only by demonstrating the perfect identity of doctrinal views in the denominations, but by increasing through means of the trying circumstances by which that identity was proved, the interest they felt in each other."³ Dr. Brown was sustained through out the controversy by the unshaken confidence of his congregation. On September 22, 1845, the congregation held a social meeting at which time they presented Dr. Brown with a gift of 200 pounds⁴ as a testimony of their confidence and esteem.⁵ His students on that same day presented him with a gift of valuable

1 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 255.

2 Ibid.

3 Memorials of the Union of the Secession and Relief Churches, now the United Presbyterian Church, May, 1847, (Edinburgh: 1847), p. 52.

4 Alexander White, History of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1872), p. 58.

5 Dr. Brown also received a silver tea kettle on which a note was inscribed, telling of their sympathy, admiration, and confidence in him as their pastor and friend.

books; Dr. Brown told his congregation that "this day I have received substantial endearing evidence that the two classes of individuals, my people and my students, who have had all along the best opportunities of knowing the doctrines, which I have taught, have never had their confidence, either in my integrity or my orthodoxy, in the slightest degree shaken."¹ That Dr. Brown deeply appreciated the affectionate loyalty of his people can be seen from his statement made many years later on the occasion of his jubilee:

In the season of greatest trial in my public life, when, amid serious personal and severe relative affliction, my integrity was questioned, and my usefulness endangered by the charge of unsound doctrine, the slightest token of suspicion never appeared among them. Were it possible, their personal kindnesses and their attention on my public labours were more exemplary during this period than ever. But this was not all. However deeply they felt for themselves and their minister, they never allowed themselves in the slightest degree to interfere with the solemn march of judicial proceeding. They left the Ecclesiastical Courts to do their own business in working out a full confutation of the charges; and then, and not till then, did they publicly and as a body give their minister and the world solid proofs of how they had sympathized with him in his sufferings, and how they rejoiced with him in his joys.²

The Atonement Controversy had direct and indirect results. On the extreme liberal side, it caused the Morisons and other ministers to leave the United Secession Church and to form the Evangelical Union;³ on the conservative side, it

¹ White, op. cit., p. 59.

² The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 71, 72.

³ James Morison, Evangelical Union: Its Origin and A Statement of its Principles, (Kilmarnock: 1843), p. 13.

caused Dr. Andrew Marshall and a few others to withdraw and to form the "Calvinistic Secession Presbytery."¹ The controversy helped to clarify and liberalize the doctrinal position of the United Secession and to promote the Union with the Relief Church in 1847.² But in the negotiations for union between the Free Church of Scotland and the United Presbyterian Church, from 1863 to 1873, the liberal doctrines of the latter, especially the "double reference" of the doctrine of Atonement, were objected to as "the parents of Arminianism and Morisonianism"³ by the ultra-orthodox of the Free Church and helped to block immediate union.⁴ The liberal doctrine of the United Presbyterians, however, was only a temporary stumbling block to Church union in Scotland.

Indirect and permanent results of the Atonement Controversy were evidenced in 1879, when the United Presbyterian Church adopted a Declaratory Statement to the Westminster Confession of Faith, in which the restrictive bonds of Calvinism were broken and a more liberal interpretation was officially approved.⁵ The theological point-of-view,

¹ Minutes of the United Secession Synod, (October, 1846), p. 25.

² Memorials of the Union of the Secession and Relief Churches, now the United Presbyterian Church, (Edinburgh: 1847), p. 52.

³ J.R. Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland 1843-1874, (Edinburgh: 1927), pp. 177-185.

⁴ Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, (May, 1873), pp. 123-186.

⁵ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (1897), pp. 623-625, 637, 638.

which Dr. Brown held and fostered and which had come down to him from John Cameron and Moses Amyraut, was fully recognized and plainly stated:

That in regard to the doctrine of redemption as taught in the Standards, and in consistency therewith, the love of God to all mankind, His gift of His Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world and the free offer of salvation to men without distinction on the ground of Christ's perfect sacrifice, are matters which have been and continue to be regarded by this Church as vital in the system of Gospel truth, and to which due prominence ought ever to be given.

That the doctrine of the divine decrees, including the doctrine of election to eternal life, is held in connection and harmony with the truth that God is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance, and that He has provided a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and offered to all in the Gospel; and also with the responsibility of every man for his dealing with the free and unrestricted offer of eternal life.¹

The above paragraphs were in harmony with Brown's theology, but his students and successors in the United Presbyterian Church probably went a few steps further than Brown had gone when they adopted the following statements:

That the doctrine of man's total depravity, and of his loss of "all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation," is not held as implying such a condition of man's nature as would affect his responsibility under the law of God and the Gospel of Christ, or that he does not experience the strivings and restraining influences of the Spirit of God, or that he cannot perform actions in any sense good: although actions which do not spring from a renewed heart are not spiritually good or holy, such as accompany salvation.

That while none are saved except through the mediation of Christ, and by the grace of His Holy

1 Ibid., pp. 637, 638.

Spirit, who worketh when, and where, and how it pleaseth Him; while the duty of sending the Gospel to the heathen who are sunk in ignorance, sin, and misery, is clear and imperative; and while the outward and ordinary means of salvation for those capable of being called by the Word are the ordinances of the Gospel: in accepting the Standards, it is not required to be held that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His grace to any who are without the pale of ordinary means, as it may seem good in His sight.¹

The Free Church of Scotland wisely adopted a similar statement, i.e. The Declaratory Act of 1892,² in which the love of God and the propitiation of Christ for the world, as in the Declaratory Statement of the United Presbyterian Church, were rightly given a new place of prominence among the declared beliefs of the Church:

That, in holding and teaching, according to the Confession, the Divine purpose of grace towards those who are saved, and the execution of that purpose in time, this Church most earnestly proclaims, as standing in the forefront of the revelation of Grace, the love of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to sinners of mankind, manifested especially in the Father's gift of the Son to be the Saviour of the world, in the coming of the Son to offer Himself a propitiation for sin, and in the striving of the Holy Spirit with men to bring them to repentance.³

In 1910, the Church of Scotland approved a new Formula of Subscription for ministers at ordination and for probationers when receiving license.⁴ The change in the doctrinal attitude

1 Ibid., p. 638.

2 The Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, (May, 1892), pp. 478, 479.

3 Ibid.; (May, 1894), pp. 161-182.

4 Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts passed and Overtures Sent down to Presbyteries, by the General Assembly, (May, 1910), pp. xvi-xviii; (1905), pp. 961-977.

of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland,¹ which the Atonement Controversy helped to effect and which resulted in the liberalizing of Scottish Theology, became an essential part of the basis of Union between the Free Church of Scotland and United Presbyterian Church in 1900² and the basis of Union between the United Free Church and Church of Scotland in 1929.³ Today, candidates for the ministry in the Church of Scotland are no longer required to receive the Westminster Confession of Faith literally, article by article, but they must declare only that they believe "the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained in the Confession of Faith of this Church."⁴

1 This change in doctrinal attitude was not confined only to the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland. In 1902-1903, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America followed the example of the parent Churches in Scotland by adopting a similar Declaratory Statement to the Westminster Confession of Faith. See The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Being Its Standards Subordinate to the Word of God, (Philadelphia: 1949), pp. vii, 118.

2 Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland, (October-November, 1900), pp. 60, 61; Appendix, pp. 1-11.

3 Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland, (May, 1928), pp. 869-940; (May, 1929), pp. vii-xxxiii.

4 Ordinal and Service Book for Use in Courts of the Church, The Church of Scotland, Second edition. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 5, 28.

CHAPTER V

THE PROFESSOR AND HIS STUDENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

While faithfully ministering to a large congregation and participating in current controversies, Dr. Brown also filled with distinguished honor the Chair of Exegetical Theology in the Divinity Hall of the United Secession Church, and after the Union of 1847, the United Presbyterian Church.¹ He was chosen to be the first Professor of Exegetical Theology by the United Associate Synod in 1834² and continued in this office until his death in 1858.³ In the Chair of Exegetical Theology, Brown was "indeed a great power, a great attraction, and a great success."⁴

His election to a professorship was made possible by a reorganization of the antiquated Divinity Hall which was effected by the United Associate Synod in 1833-34 under Brown's leadership.⁵ From the days of Knox and Melville, the Church

¹ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1859), pp. 213, 214.

² Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1834), p. 11.

³ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1859), pp. 213, 214.

⁴ Peter Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, In Its Changes and Enlargements for one hundred and forty years, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 231.

⁵ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1833), pp. 17-20; Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1834), pp. 10, 11.

of Scotland had endeavored to secure a learned ministry and had provided for the training of students in a knowledge of the sacred tongues and of the languages of the earliest and best versions of Scripture, and instruction in the canons of criticism, as well as in "the principles, history and application of exegetical erudition."¹ At the period of the first Secession from the Church of Scotland, theological tuition was anxiously considered; it was decided to maintain, as far as possible, a learned ministry.² Prior to the Union of 1820, each branch of the Secession Church made a single professor responsible for the theological education of its students.³ The professorate was held in the General Associate Church by such men as Moncrieff of Alloa, Bruce of Whitburn, and Paxton of Edinburgh, and in the Associate Secession Church by Brown of Haddington, and Lawson of Selkirk.⁴ The location of the divinity hall was generally determined by the pastorate of the professor, who was required to fill both the office of pastor and professor,⁵ but in 1804, the General Associate Synod appointed the Rev. George Paxton to be

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (August-November 1860: Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark), p. 33.

2 John McKerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), pp. 101, 102. Rev. W. Wilson of Perth was the first professor.

3 Peter Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Co., 1876), pp. 12, 13.

4 Ibid., pp. 24-151.

5 Ibid.

professor of theology, separated his professorship from the pastorate, and removed the divinity hall to Edinburgh.¹ Being dimly aware of the defects of the old system, the United Associate Synod after the Union of 1820 would have maintained two professors, but Professor Paxton refused to accede to the Union.² Professor John Dick, minister of Greyfriars Church in Glasgow and of the Associate Synod, had to carry on alone till 1825 when the United Associate Synod appointed a second professor, Dr. John Mitchell of the Wellington Church, Glasgow, to be head of a new department of Biblical Literature.³ In addition to their work in the divinity hall, Drs. Dick and Mitchell continued to minister to their large congregations in Glasgow.

When Professor Dick died in 1833, Brown urged the Synod to reorganize the whole system of theological education, and a large committee was appointed in April, 1833, to consider the matter.⁴ Since the large committee was too unwieldy for the task, a sub-committee with Dr. Brown as convener was chosen and worked prodigiously all summer.⁵ After study-

1 Ibid., pp. 139, 140.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1821), p. 7.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1825), p. 6.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1833), pp. 8, 10.

5 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1833), pp. 17-20.

ing British, Continental, and American systems of theological education and weighing the values of each system, Brown drew up a report of their conclusions and recommendations, which was approved by the large committee and substantially adopted by the Synod in April 1834.¹ The report advocated reform under three heads: the preliminary training of students, the conduct of the Hall, and the superintendence of Presbyteries.² Under the second head, it was recommended that two new professorships be created; the peculiar province of these, old as well as new professorships, was clearly defined.³ The unique part of the report was in setting aside a separate professor for the department of Exegetical Theology, which was the first of its kind in any Scottish Divinity Hall.⁴ The enlarged Divinity Hall included these four chairs: Biblical Literature, Exegetical Theology, Systematic Theology, Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History; the first two subjects were to be studied during the first two years and the latter subjects during the last three years of the divinity course.⁵ Each professor was to be given a salary of fifty pounds and was to teach a session of eight weeks in each year.⁶ Next, the

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1834), p. 10.

2 Ibid. and Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1833), pp. 17-20.

3 Ibid. and Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1833), pp. 18, 19.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., p. 10.

Synod elected John Brown to the Chair of Exegetical Theology, Dr. Duncan of Midcalder to Systematic Theology, and Dr. Balmer to Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History;¹ Dr. Mitchell was retained as Professor of Biblical Literature. In accordance with the adopted report, students were divided into junior and senior classes; the junior class, consisting of first and second year students, was to be taught by Drs. Mitchell and Brown while the senior class, consisting of third, fourth, and fifth year students, was to be taught by Drs. Balmer and Duncan.² The senior class was to meet regularly in Edinburgh whereas the junior class was to meet alternately in Edinburgh and Glasgow.³ During Brown's life the framework of the Divinity Hall, as changed and enlarged under his leadership, remained largely the same. In the course of his twenty-four years as professor, he was associated with Dr. Eadie of Glasgow and Dr. Harper of Leith, who filled chairs caused by death;⁴ after the Union of 1847, he was joined by Dr. Lindsay of Glasgow and Dr. M'Michael of Dunfermline who as professors of the Relief Church entered the

1 Ibid., p. 11. Drs. Duncan and Balmer subsequently agreed to exchange their chairs with the permission of Synod; Dr. Balmer taught Systematic Theology and Dr. Duncan taught Pastoral Theology and Ecclesiastical History.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1853), p. 19.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1834), p. 10.

4 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1846), pp. 35, 39.

United Presbyterian Divinity Hall.¹ The Union of 1847 caused some change; Brown was transferred from the Junior to the Senior Hall where he was associated with Dr. Harper, Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology, and with Dr. M'Michael, Professor ^{of} Ecclesiastical History, while Drs. Lindsay and Eadie shared the field of Biblical Literature.² With all his colleagues in the Hall, Brown maintained a relationship that was harmonious and cordial; testimony to this was given by Dr. Harper, who said,

It was no mere official tie that united us. I say this for my colleagues, and, of them all, I have most cause to say it for myself. We felt it to be our privilege to be associated with him. We felt that we could repose our utmost confidence in him for the wisdom of his counsels and the integrity of his heart.³

Dr. Brown accepted his appointment to the Divinity Hall with reluctance, for the press of his duties was already very heavy and the work of the Hall had to be carried alongside his ministry to Broughton Place Church.⁴ Drs. Brown, Balmer, and Duncan consented to conduct their respective courses for one year only, as an experiment; Brown made this statement to the Synod:

That while his sentiments remain substantially unchanged,

¹ P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 278.

² Ibid., pp. 278, 279.

³ Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 70.

⁴ Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (April, 1834), p. 14.

he has so much respect for the opinions and wishes of his brethren, so strongly expressed, as to consent to undertake the charge of the Students in Exegetical Theology for the present year, it being understood that his doing so is no pledge of his accepting the Chair to which he has been elected; and that, if, after having made the experiment, he shall continue persuaded that the performance of the duties of that Chair by him is inconsistent with the discharge of his pastoral duty, the Synod shall not farther urge his compliance with their invitation.¹

Although Balmer and Brown loved their new tasks, they sent in letters of resignation to the Synod of September, 1834.²

Balmer was troubled with weak eye-sight, while Brown found the long absence from his congregation a source of inconvenience.³ The effectiveness of Brown's teaching can be gathered from a letter which Brown received from his students who petitioned him to retain his office:

The period we have sat under your tuition has been to us a time of unmingled satisfaction and delight, and we trust that we may add, of great improvement also. For the numerous benefits we have derived from your instructions, we beg to return you our most sincere thanks.

As, at the time of your appointment to the Professorship, you consented to hold the office only for a year, we cannot conceal from you the great apprehensions we feel, lest we should be deprived of your valuable instructions, at the close of this Session. The advantages we have derived from your tuition convince us that such an event would be a severe loss both to the Students and to the Church. And though we cannot venture to indulge our-

1 Ibid.

2 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1834), p. 7.

3 Robert Balmer, Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses, A Memoir of His Life, by James Henderson, Edited by John Brown, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1845), p. 37.

selves in the fond hope that any representation of ours can influence the resolution you may form yet we cannot refrain from expressing our anxious desire and expectation, that a regard to the interests of the Church at large, and to the efficiency of our Theological Seminary, will induce you to acquiesce in the appointment of the Synod. That such may be your final determination, and that you may long continue to be a blessing and an honour to our Church, and an ornament to our Theological Hall, is the earnest prayer of your obliged and grateful pupils.¹

This letter was signed by forty-five students, members of the Junior Hall,² who also petitioned the Synod for the continuance of both professors.³ The Synod refused to accept their resignation; the professors decided to continue in their offices.⁴ To facilitate Brown's continuance, Dr. Mitchell kindly offered to hold the Junior Hall alternately in Edinburgh instead of always in Glasgow as planned;⁵ when Mitchell resigned in 1843, the Junior Hall became situated permanently in Edinburgh.⁶

II. HIS TOOLS OF LEARNING

Dr. Brown was pre-eminently qualified for the duties of his new office, for his tools of learning had been carefully prepared by many years of intensive exegetical study of

1 Mrs. Arthur H. McLean, Edinburgh, "Letter to Rev. John Brown, D.D.," MS, (Glasgow: September 9, 1834).

2 Ibid.

3 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (September, 1834), p. 10.

4 Ibid., p. 11.

5 Ibid., p. 10.

6 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1843), pp. 18, 19.

the Scriptures.¹ His learning was vast and varied; for his time, his scholarship was good.² In his youth the means for study of classical languages was limited, i.e., there was a dearth of grammatical studies and philological treatises,³ which began to appear in quality and number during his life.⁴ Consequently, although Brown did use some of these instruments of learning to great advantage when they were made available, his Greek scholarship lacked somewhat of edge, precision, and familiarity with "the subtle doctrines of cases and particles, idioms and mysteries of syntax."⁵ Nevertheless, his scholarship was not deficient; he was able to carry out independent and original investigation of Scripture both in Greek and Hebrew and to make decisions on all critical questions.⁶ Although he was not a Hebrew scholar, such as Lightfoot and Robertson, he was far above most of his

1 Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on the Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. 63, 64.

2 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), p. 36.

3 Ibid. In Brown's youth the grammatical studies of these men were not yet available: Mattiae, Thiersch, Buttmann, Kühner, Madvig, Bernhardt, and Krüger. In later years he studied all that was available in Latin or English translation.

4 Ibid., p. 37. Planck did not definitely settle the nature of New Testament Greek till 1810; Winer's Greek Grammar did not appear till 1822. The first edition of the Hebrew-German Lexicon of Gesenius appeared in 1810, and the first of his Latin Manuals in 1833.

5 Ibid.

6 Thomson, Harper, op. cit., pp. 65, 66.

contemporaries in ability as a Hebrew exegete;¹ his exposition of the eighteenth Psalm and of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, in his Sufferings and Glory of the Messiah, adequately illustrates his scholarship.² On the shelves of his great library, he had collected the principal editions of the Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, the latter of which included about a hundred from Erasmus to Tischendorf.³ He owned ancient and modern versions of the Bible; he possessed an accurate knowledge of the history of the English Bible. Of all the fields of sacred study, his learning was greatest in the department of annotations, scholia, and commentaries on the original Scriptures, for his biographer and former student, John Cairns, writes:

The exegetical treatises of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and of the Schoolmen and later Romish authors, he knew as well as any one who had not made them a special study; while he had completely mastered the great commentaries of the Reformation period, with those produced by all the succeeding diversities of Protestantism, from Cocceius and Owen to Grotius and the Polish Brethren. He had looked into most works of interpretation that had appeared either in the Church of England or among the Nonconformists; and probably no Scottish work of the least note had escaped him, his knowledge of this region descending even to the worthless and the inane.⁴

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, p. 37.

2 John Brown, Sufferings and Glory of the Messiah, pp. 1-312.

3 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), p. 38.

4 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 154, 155.

Unlike most British divines of his day, Brown was partially acquainted with German commentary and theology, even though he was greatly handicapped by his meagre knowledge of German.¹

Dr. MacEwen in his Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D., tells of the insularity of British theology in Brown's day:

It would be difficult to exaggerate the isolation and insularity of British theology during the first half of the 19th century. The dominant systems of doctrine were those which had been formulated prior to the great intellectual movement which revolutionised European thought before the 18th century closed, and such treatises on dogmatics and exegesis as were produced bore no relation to the currents of speculation and criticism then prevalent on the Continent. As a rule, German and French thinkers were either completely ignored or passed by with unintelligent denunciation. Probably the only Scottish theologian of note who was aware of the situation was Dr. John Brown, and his knowledge was limited by his want of acquaintance with German.²

Regretting this limitation, Brown overcame it in part by becoming intimately conversant with the older results of German scholarship.³ For prior to 1820, the German literati wrote mostly in Latin and this language was as familiar to him as English.⁴ He had an intimate acquaintance with all the German divines and critics of the period succeeding the Reformation: Witsius, Deyling, Vitringa, Lampe, Marck, Calovius, Calixtus,

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), pp. 39, 40.

2 Alexander MacEwen, Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D., (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898), pp. 148, 149.

3 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), p. 40.

4 Ibid., p. 39.

Carpzoff, Schultens, Turretine, the elder Michaelis, Ernesti, Morus, Knapp, Storr, "the authors contained in the immense tomes of the *Critici Sacri*, and the accompanying *Thesauri* of tracts and dissertations."¹ He was the first in Scotland to give an account of the New Testament edited and annotated by Koppe and his coadjutors, Heinrichs and Pott.² This account, in the form of an extract from the Christian Monitor was reprinted by Horne in the various editions of his Introduction.³ Brown also collected and studied all contemporary German works that appeared in Latin as well as all that were translated into English.⁴ Despite these valiant efforts, his knowledge of German commentary and theology was never complete; he was forced to neglect contemporary German commentaries, even for his last work, such as Philippi and Umbreit on Romans.⁵

Outside the field of exposition, Brown's learning was less extensive but included the study of systematic theology, history of doctrine, church history, classical and miscellaneous literature, all of which was utilized in the interpretation of Scripture and supplied him with helps and illustrations.⁶

1 Ibid., p. 40.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 155.

5 John Brown, Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, (Edinburgh: 1857), pp. ix-xv.

6 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 155.

At the time of Brown's death, his magnificent library contained almost nine thousand books¹ and was thought to be one of the largest clerical libraries in Scotland.² To have collected such a large library was amazing, but the more remarkable fact was that he could say something about the history and contents of almost every book in his vast collection. Dr. Thomson, his colleague at Broughton Place Church, said,

He knew his books in something more than in their title-page. His library might almost be said to have existed not only on his bookshelves, but in his brain. It had long indeed been a characteristic habit with him, when conversing with any congenial friend, to bring down some volume from the midst of his well-arranged thousands, and to read aloud with keen relish some passage easily found by him, which either threw light upon the subject of conversation, or expressed the thoughts that had been already spoken, with curious and quaint felicity. Such knowledge would have crushed some weaker minds, and interfered with the vigour and originality of their thought; to him it was mental aliment and atmosphere³

The magnitude of Brown's learning was the secret source of his mental strength and was always subservient to his keen judgment in all matters of interpretation. That this vast and varied learning helped rather than hindered Brown in his exegetical labors is firmly asserted by Dr. Cairns, who thought

¹ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1861).

² Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on the Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 33.

³ Ibid., pp. 33, 34.

it a privilege to be a member of his class and congregation,¹

. . . all that he read supplied impulse to the analytical processes of reflection upon the sense of Scripture, which were perpetually going on in the inner chamber of his mind. He had the rare gift of throwing his mind into sympathy with the sacred writers especially the more logical and reflective, and could survey the text as if it never had been trodden down under the host of commentators. He was deaf to the charm of tradition, and could set aside the most venerable and time-hallowed misinterpretations without mercy. Nothing was more common from the pulpit than the sentence passed on some current sense, "This is truth, important truth, but not the truth contained in this passage." This was often repeated in the Hall, with the more curt definition of an interpreter's business, "Expositio non impositio."²

III. HIS EXEGETICAL LECTURES

The principal part of Brown's course in Exegetical Theology consisted of lectures which occupied at least one hour per day.³ Unwilling to discard the fruit of his previous exegetical studies, Brown took up the expository lectures that he had delivered to his congregation and rewrote them for his students.⁴ At the same time he continued to write new lectures for Broughton Place Church that could be used in the Divinity Hall by making certain changes. To his old lectures, he added philological discussions of the Hebrew

1 Alexander MacEwen, Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D., (London: 1898), pp. 76, 77, 111.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 156, 157.

3 John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Glasgow: 1841), p. 798.

4 William Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit From the Reformation to the Present Day, (London: 1887), pp. 230, 231.

and Greek texts, the detailed opinions of authorities on all controverted questions of interpretation, and the nomenclature of Biblical Exegesis.¹ In utilizing these lectures for pulpit and professor's chair, Brown had to compromise between the popular and learned material, although his lectures were well-received by both his people and students, this criticism was justly laid against them by Dr. William Taylor of New York, who studied under Brown:²

His Expository Discourses were perhaps a little too learned for the pulpit, and a little too popular for the professor's chair, a thing almost inevitable from the fact that they had to pay double debt by doing duty in both; but they were always clear, honest, independent, and for the most part satisfactory.³

Undoubtedly, Dr. Brown felt more at ease as an expositor in the professor's chair than in the pulpit; in the former he was at liberty to use a larger part of his learning. Brown would have welcomed the criticism that his lectures had too many echoes of the pulpit, for he believed that "mere critical and learned discussion, addressed to students of divinity, had an unfortunate tendency to fix their minds exclusively on the intellectual side of Scripture."⁴ This same sentiment appeared in his last publication, where he remarked,

1 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 41, 42.

2 Taylor, op. cit., p. 231.

3 Ibid., pp. 230, 231.

4 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), pp. 148, 149.

There is something sadly deficient when the Christian system, either in the Bible itself, or in the attempts to reduce it to the order of human science, can be treated in the same manner as a mathematical problem, or an abstract speculation in metaphysics.¹

The arrangement by which the Professor was also the Pastor had this one advantage; it tended to give "a practical character to the Professor's instructions."² Brown came to his students fresh from the duties of his ministry, impressed by their responsibilities, and strove to prepare them for the realities of their chosen vocation.³

The over-all scope of his course in Exegetical Theology was outlined by Brown in his Hints to Students of Divinity,

In the plan of study embodied in the act of Synod, it is obviously contemplated as desirable, that, in prosecuting this branch of their studies, the students should, while in seminary, have expounded to them in a close and critical manner, as large a portion as possible of both divisions of the Sacred Volume. The more interesting and important portions of Old Testament history, the leading statutes of the Mosaic law, the principal prophecies, especially those relating to the Messiah and his kingdom, the discourses of our Lord, the principal narratives of his life, and the establishment of his religion among men, and as many as possible of the Apostolical Epistles; with, at any rate, a general view of the prophetic part of the Apocalypse. It seems also to have been wished, that the individual who presided over this branch of study, should give a short Biblical view of the various economies or dispensations, the Paradisaical, the

1 John Brown, (editor), Address to Students, (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 22.

2 The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "Missionary enterprise considered as the means of promoting piety and unity among Christians," by Alexander M'Ewen, (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 106.

3 Ibid.

Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Christian.¹

Originally, Brown had helped to draw up this ambitious plan of study in a Synod committee on theological education, but he quickly discovered that there was not enough time to complete it, and planned his lectures on a more practical basis.² Of this he said,

On entering on his duties, the present superintendent of this department of study soon discovered that to do all this was, in the circumstances, impracticable; and, judging that it was better to do a little somewhat thoroughly, than even much superficially, he has never been able to do more than to give lectures on some select passages in the Old Testament history, such as the account of the creation of the world, and the fall of man; on a few of the Messianic Psalms, such as the ii., xvi., xviii., cx; on the leading discourses of our Lord, and on the Epistle to the Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. A short set of lectures on the advantages of a critical study of the Bible has been prepared and partially delivered, and a variety of difficult passages of Scriptures have been discussed in occasional lectures. The view of economies he has endeavoured to give in his prelections on the Epistle to the Galatians. Limited as this range is, in comparison of what must be accounted desirable, even this course cannot be completed in less than five sessions.³

In addition to the above lectures, Brown subsequently delivered lectures on all of First Peter and part of Second Peter, on the 15th chapter of First Corinthians, and on the "Uses of Scripture."⁴ Like his pulpit discourses, all his Hall

1 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 41, 42.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 42.

4 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. vii, viii.

lectures were presented to his students in a finely finished form.¹

Brown's great power as a professor lay in his extraordinary ability as an exegete of Scripture, particularly of the New Testament. This power was brilliantly exhibited in his Hall lectures and shines forth in his published expositions, for instead of merely expounding the laws of Hermeneutics, he proceeded to apply the principles of interpretation not only to particular words and phrases but to the exposition of large portions of Scripture.² The Bible was always the basis of his plan for exegesis. This was clearly stated in the preface to his exposition of Galatians,

. . . it is wiser and safer to make the Bible the basis and the test of the system of divinity, than to make the system the principal, and in effect sole, means of the interpretation of the Bible; and that if, in any case, the system, fairly interpreted, should forbid the reception of a doctrine, which the well-established principles of interpretation, fairly and cautiously applied, bring out of a passage of Scripture, there must be no hesitation as to whether it would be better to modify the system, or to misinterpret the Bible.³

Brown held the Bible to be God's book, not in thought only, but in language; the prophets, evangelists, and apostles

1 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), p. 30.

2 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), p. 41; P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, p. 232.

3 John Brown, An Exposition of The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, (Edinburgh: 1858), p. vii.

were guided by God to those words by which the will of God was expressed without any possibility of error.¹ It was his firm conviction that the Old Testament Scriptures, as well as the new, were inspired, i.e. "an infallible statement of the will of God."² In his view, therefore, the Bible could not deal loosely with facts, or fallaciously with arguments, for he adhered to a plenary inspiration producing a book of universal and unchanging truth.³ His faith in the inspiration of Scripture underlay all his exegesis. In expounding a passage of Scripture, Brown's primary purpose was to bring out its proper meaning, and no other, and to find "in that passage the peculiar truth which the inspired writer had placed there, and no other truth, however important and scriptural,"⁴ for he thought that the great end of true exegesis was "to loose the truth, which has been so long fettered"⁵ by the Oriental, the Neo-Platonic, the Aristotelian, and the Scholastic Philosophies.⁶ Brown considered the exposition of Scripture to be of supreme importance; when he discovered the peculiar

1 John Brown, An Exposition of The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, edited by David Smith, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. 18, 19.

2 Ibid., p. 18.

3 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1848), pp. 1, 2.

4 P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 232.

5 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, (Edinburgh: 1858), p. vii.

6 Ibid.

truth of a particular passage through concentrated exegetical study, he believed that he had come into direct contact with the revealed mind of God and that he was treading upon very holy ground.¹ Having discovered the peculiar truth, he was impelled to interpret it to the mind of man:

. . . in expounding Scripture I am declaring what, after using the best means in my power for ascertaining it, appears to me the mind of the Divine Spirit in a particular part of that word, all of which was given by his inspiration. My object is to bring the mind of man into direct contact with the mind of God; not merely to state truth, nothing but the truth, but to state the truth in the defined form which it wears in that particular passage.²

Brown's persistent pursuit of the peculiar truth of a passage of Scripture can be readily traced through the fourteen volumes of his published expositions, which embody the substance of his exegetical lectures to his students and to his congregations.³

Though Brown earnestly and conscientiously sought the truth of a passage of Scripture, the strictly exegetical tendencies which he had acquired, marred his work as a doctrinal lecturer. At times, Brown continued to expound a phrase when he should have been stating and establishing the truth which he had found. He often spent more time with the grammar than

¹ John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed. London: 1839), p. 336.

² Ibid.

³ See Brown's expositions of I Peter, II Peter, Galatians, Romans, John, and Hebrews, etc.

the thought of a passage. While he never overlooked the sense of Scripture, he sometimes missed its full significance. His thought was dominated by critical and exegetical habits; he frequently failed to set forth the full theological import of a particular passage. The Rev. Peter Landreth, one of Brown's old students, declared of him, "Repeatedly, when he was getting into a train of profound thought or of fine sentiment, he was checked by some exegetical tendency, which brought him up to the phraseology, the mere surface of the text."¹ There was another factor which limited the value of Brown's work as an exegete. While he avowedly struggled to loose the truth of Scripture from the fetters of Oriental, Neo-Platonic, Aristotelian, and Scholastic Philosophies, he himself was personally bound to Calvinism, and except for his more liberal views on the Atonement of Christ and the authority of the civil magistrate in religion, his theological interpretations of Scripture were consistently at one with the doctrines of John Calvin. Consequently, originality was not a feature of Brown's exegetical lectures, for he presented no new doctrines and no new theological views.

Since the greater part of Brown's course in Exegetical Theology was spent in expounding Scripture to his students, an extended example of his interpretation should

¹ Peter Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 233.

now be presented. Although his published expositions vary in form, i.e. some are divided into discourses on particular passages¹ whereas others follow the text of an Epistle from beginning to end,² they largely follow the working plan which he outlines in his exposition of First Peter:

The Epistle is divided into paragraphs, according to the sense, of course varying very considerably in length. Each of these paragraphs embodying one leading thought, forms the subject of a separate discourse, in which an attempt is made to explain whatever is difficult in the phraseology, and to illustrate the doctrinal principles which it contains; the object being to discuss, in a general and abstract manner the subjects which the text may suggest, but to bring clearly out the Apostle's statements, and their design; and to show how the statements are fitted to gain the objects for which they are made. The exposition is at once, exegetical, doctrinal, and practical.³

In his exposition of a particular passage Brown usually answered two questions: What was it to them? and What is it to us?⁴ Of these questions Brown wrote:

In one point of view, the Holy Scriptures are precisely the same to us, as they were to those of whom they were originally addressed. To us as well as to them, they are the authoritative utterance of the Divine mind and will, the supreme rule of faith and duty both religious and moral. In another point of view they may not be, in many particular instances they are not, the same thing to us that they were to them.⁵

1 John Brown, Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ Illustrated in A Series of Expositions, Vols. I, II, III, (Edinburgh: 1850).

2 John Brown, Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, (Edinburgh: 1857).

3 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1848), p. vii.

4 John Brown, The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, (3rd ed., London: 1839), p. 235.

5 Ibid.

As an example of the latter point of view, he mentions the law of Moses which is not received in the same way today as it was before Christ,¹ but he lays greater stress on the first point of view by concluding that,

The fundamental truths and duties of Christianity are the same in every country and age, and however the artificial manners of mankind may vary, the essential principles of human nature remain unaltered. It appears next to an impossibility that a Christian apostle should write a letter to a primitive church, in which by far the greater part of the discussions should not be of a nature calculated permanently to interest and instruct Christians.²

An extended example of Brown's exegetical lectures is taken from his exposition of I Peter ii. 11,12:

Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul; having your conversation honest among the Gentiles; that, whereas they speak against you as evil-doers, they may, by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation.

Brown divides his exposition of this passage into two main parts: 1. The duties enjoined; 2. Motives to the discharge of these duties.³ Of the first duty, abstinence from "fleshly lusts," he writes,

Lusts, in the New Testament use of that word, signify desires; strong desires; usually, inordinate, unduly strong desires. The phrase "fleshly lusts" is often considered as meaning, desires for sensual enjoyment; desires which obtain their gratification by means of

1 Ibid., p. 236.

2 Ibid.

3 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1848), pp. 323, 331.

bodily organs. This is, however, very unduly to limit the signification of the term. Among the "works of the flesh" which are just the lusts of the flesh embodied, we find enumerated, "hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies," as well as "adultery, fornication, uncleanness, and lasciviousness."¹

Further definition of the term is presented in this way:

Flesh is the principal constituent of the human body, and the body is the visible part of the compound being, man. Hence flesh comes to be used for human nature, or mankind. All mankind, since the fall, are depraved beings; and hence flesh is often, especially in the epistolary part of the New Testament, used to signify fallen human nature, or mankind as depraved.²

Abstinence from "fleshly lusts," is interpreted to mean that Christians are to "refrain from desiring whatever is forbidden," and to "refrain from inordinately desiring any thing seen and temporal, however innocent in itself."³ Support for these injunctions is obtained from the first and tenth commandments.⁴ To this interpretation a few practical remarks are added:

. . . in order to abstain from fleshly lusts, we must carefully guard against temptation. There is continual danger; there are always objects at hand fitted to provoke sinful desires in some of its forms We must therefore avoid placing ourselves in circumstances in which such desires are likely to be excited; and when, by the providence of God, we are placed in such circumstances, we are to "keep our hearts with all diligence;" and, sensible that all our keeping will not serve the purpose, we must give our hearts to God to keep them.⁵

Of the second duty, "Having a conversation honest among the

1 Ibid., p. 323.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 326.

4 Ibid., pp. 325, 326.

5 Ibid., p. 327.

Gentiles," he perceives the following:

"Conversation" here, and in many other places in the New Testament, does not mean colloquial intercourse, but conduct, general behaviour . . . The term "honest" here, as in some other parts of the New Testament, is used in a somewhat obsolete sense; as equivalent to honourable, respectable, morally beautiful and lovely; what commands esteem and reverence. Have your conversation honest among the Gentiles, means, Let your conduct be such as will meet the approbation of God and good men, and as even the heathen shall be obliged to venerate.¹

Brown sees that the duties are very closely connected:

It is by abstaining from fleshly lusts that their conversation was to be honest among the Gentiles. If they did not abstain from fleshly lusts, their conversation would be dishonourable, both to themselves and to their religion. If they did abstain from fleshly lusts, an honest, honourable behaviour was a matter of course. The heart must be kept with all diligence, if we would wish the issues of life which flow from it to be satisfactory.²

In the second part of the exposition, he discusses the "motive to the discharge of these duties." The first motive is drawn from the condition and character of Christians as "pilgrims and strangers," and he speaks of these terms as being used in a literal and figurative sense.³ Originally, they were addressed chiefly to Jews and proselytes who were pilgrims and strangers living among the heathen inhabitants of Asia Minor, but the words are also used figuratively.⁴ They are applicable to all Christians, in all ages,

1 Ibid., p. 329.

2 Ibid., pp. 330, 331.

3 Ibid., p. 332.

4 Ibid.

. . . the Christian is, in a sense peculiar to himself, a pilgrim and stranger. He is a child of God, living among the children of the wicked one. He is a citizen of heaven, sojourning for a season on the earth. Heaven is his home. There is his treasure, and there is his heart also. His great object here is to promote the interests of the kingdom that is not of this world; to pass through this land of strangers and enemies with as little injury as possible; to get safe to the better land, and take as many as he can along with him.¹

This exposition of "pilgrims and strangers" sets forth an essentially narrow, one-sided understanding of man and of history. The complete otherworldliness of the exposition does not tie up well with Brown's attitude toward social reform, e.g., the abolition of slavery, the Reform Bill, the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. Too much emphasis is placed upon heaven and heavenly citizenship; too little importance is attached to history and man's earthly citizenship. A divisive wedge is driven between the Church and the world; the Church is allotted to God and the world to the wicked one. This unnatural distinction, which is drawn between the religious and the profane, divides life into separate compartments, destroys the largeness and unity of human experience and history,² and discounts God's work as Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler not only of man, but of the whole world. Contrary to the otherworldly view, which Brown frequently propounds in his expositions, the Biblical writings

1 Ibid., pp. 332, 333.

2 John Tulloch, Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century, (London: 1885), pp. 13-16.

are largely concerned with history, i.e., man's relationship to God in history.¹ The singular importance of man and of history is uniquely illustrated in the Incarnation.

The second motive for abstaining from "fleshly lusts" is derived from the tendency of the course, "It wars against the soul;" Brown contends that,

They are injurious to our highest interests, the interests of the soul; they are inconsistent with the peace of the soul; they are hostile to the improvement of the soul; they are, if indulged in, fatal to the final happiness of the soul.²

The third motive arises out of the natural effect of uniform good behaviour on the minds of the heathen observers; the Apostle encourages Christians with the hope that their "honest conversation" and "good works" might be the means of bringing their heathen neighbors "to glorify God in the day of visitation."³ The last part of the text is expounded in this manner:

. . . in the day when God visits these poor benighted Gentiles with his grace, your consistent, holy, conduct, witnessed by them, will be one of the means employed by him in leading them to glorify him in embracing the gospel and devoting themselves to his service.

. . . The great ultimate object which every Christian should, which every genuine Christian does, contemplate, is the promotion of the glory of God. In his estimation, every desirable end is included in God's being glorified.

1 Ronald G. Smith, The New Man, Christianity and Man's Coming of Age, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1956), pp. 15-43.

2 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1848), p. 334.

3 Ibid., p. 335.

This should be, this is, when he acts in character, his predominant design and thought, that in all things God may be glorified.¹

The exposition is concluded with a summary of the findings and practical exhortation to obey:

Brethren, this is our duty, as well as that of those to whom these words were originally addressed; and the motives presented are such as should influence us as well as them. Abstinence from all that is forbidden or even doubtful, and the having a consistent, uniform, ornamental Christian behaviour, are duties incumbent on Christians in all countries, and in all ages And are not we "pilgrims and sojourners before God, as were all our fathers?" Are we not by our profession "plainly declaring, that we are seeking a country, a better country, that is an heavenly? Do we not feel that the indulgence of inordinate desire for any earthly good disturbs our peace, and impedes our progress, and endangers our salvation? Ought we not to be desirous to be instrumental in advancing the glory of God by promoting the conversation of men?"²

This example of Brown's exposition of I Peter not only reveals his method of exegesis but also his attitude toward the Scriptures and his personal Christian faith. He held and taught veneration for the Bible.³ His views of the Bible are described by Dr. Cairns:

He had the freest sense of the individuality of its writers, and all notions of its inspiration that could be described as mechanical, were most alien from his mind. But to him it was all the Word of God, the supernatural utterance of Divine thoughts in the fittest speech, and he treated it as a true oracle, first by labouring to

1 Ibid., p. 338.

2 Ibid., p. 339.

3 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, ed. by David Smith, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), p. vi.

elicit its certain sense, and then by submitting to that sense as final.¹

Professor Harper testified that Brown's reverence for Scripture was best seen in the way that he handled it:

He scrutinised the text because in the true reading he found the sayings of the Lord Jesus on which his heart loved to dwell. He pruned with a critic's eye, because the more intimate his view of the word, the more he saw of the love of Christ in His own revelation. He put words and phrases into the balance, because he found them weighty with wealth more precious than thousands of gold and silver.²

Brown's lectures were pervaded with the fervor of personal Christian faith, for he never left his students in doubt as to what he believed. He habitually concluded a lecture with an exhortation to his students to believe and accept the truth of God and solemnly urged them to prepare for their ministry by purity of life and consecration of heart.³ To each student, he gave a copy of his grandfather's little book, Address to Students,⁴ which dealt with a student's religion; in his own Hints to Students of Divinity, he offered this counsel:

A ministry destitute of vital religion, however able, however well instructed, however distinguished for ortho-

1 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 158.

2 Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. 68, 69.

3 John Brown, Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter, Vol. III, (Edinburgh: 1848), pp. 488, 489, 490, 494.

4 John Brown, (editor), Address to Students, (Edinburgh: 1858), pp. i-vi.

dox preaching and correct morals, is one of the most unnatural of all things, and one of the deadliest curses which can light on a christian body; and to the individual himself, it is full of eternal hazard. An unregenerate man after joining a christian church, is less likely to be converted than he was previously If he become a student of divinity, the probabilities of final impenitence are prodigiously multiplied; and if he enter on the functions of the ministry, the hope of his being saved becomes faint indeed.¹

Dr. Brown delivered his exegetical lectures with almost as much force and emphasis as his sermons. Rev. Peter Landreth draws a graphic and interesting account of how he lectured:

His reading and elocution gave new force and vividness to all that came from his lips, and would have animated the most commonplace ideas and very tame sentiments. What was really impressive he made doubly so by his emphatic articulation, and by such intensely impassioned tones as thrilled the soul of each hearer, and long haunted his memory. When he was calm his voice might have too much monotony, and when he was excited it might have little of melody; but it never lacked a power that shot through the intellectual into the moral nature, though it might leave nice ears ungratified by musical cadences, and rather offended by shrill and piercing sounds.²

Dr. William Taylor unveils a word picture that shows how Brown looked to his students as he lectured:

When I sat at his feet he seemed to me to be one of the finest-looking men I had ever seen. His face was beautifully chiselled, almost like marble; his forehead was high and bare; his thin white locks flowed lengthily over his ears and collar; his eye was black and piercing, like an eagle's, it seemed as if it were looking you through; and his voice was clear and ringing, sometimes trumpet-like. He read closely, and as his writing, very foolishly, as I think, was almost microscopic in its

¹ John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), p. 27.

² P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), pp. 231, 232.

minuteness, he had to bend very low over his manuscript. But even with all these disadvantages, his reading, as his son has said, was "a fine and high art, or rather gift," and when he was thoroughly roused the effect was great.¹

After the union of the Relief and Secession Halls in 1847, Dr. Brown began to feel the effects of premature old age, which was brought on by the severity of his study and ministry.² His mental powers remained keen, but became less elastic. Elasticity, however, had never been a prominent characteristic of his mental faculties, which were strong but not nimble.³ The advancing years impaired the force of his delivery and the style of his reading:

The extreme energy and vivacity with which he had hitherto expressed his ideas and sentiments were toned down. Not only was the reading of his lectures much less emphatic, but in the reading his eyes were much more closely kept to his manuscript, instead of their glances being turned keenly upon the class, glances which gave animation and exacted attention to whatever he said. Occasionally his old fire would return and blaze forth, when suddenly moved to descant upon St. Paul's transcendent characteristics; and when, removing his spectacles from his eyes and raising these bright eyes, he addressed the students with the impassioned tones and looks that had thrilled many an audience for more than forty years, as well as his class of the old Secession Hall.⁴

IV. HIS STUDENTS

Students, who planned to enter the Divinity Hall of

1 William M. Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day, (London: 1887), p. 231.

2 John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 106-114.

3 P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 285.

4 Ibid., p. 286.

the United Secession Church, were required to complete a preparatory course of study in one of the Scottish Universities.¹ The preparatory course, as outlined by the Synod, included: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.² Students of philosophy and literature, with a view to the ministry, were examined by their presbyteries, at the close of each session, in regard to their proficiency in study, to ensure that they obtained a competent knowledge in these subjects before they advanced to higher studies.³ The presbytery was also required to keep a close check on their improvement in personal religion; a student could not be admitted to the Divinity Hall till he obtained approval from his presbytery on his progress in religion as well as in literature.⁴ A student was also expected to present a certificate showing that he was a member in full communion with the United Secession Church.⁵

While the first part of Brown's class time was spent in lecturing, the second part consisted of the giving of examinations and the hearing and criticizing of students' exegetical exercises. Describing the course to the students,

1 Minutes of the United Associate Synod, (May, 1837), p. 18.

2 Ibid. Students were permitted to study Natural Philosophy immediately after the first session of the Hall.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

Brown said,

The student is expected not only to wait on these lectures, but to prepare for them by a previous examination of the passages to be explained, to take notes of them, and to hold himself ready to be examined on them.¹

Examinations became infrequent and irregular, for the class time was consumed by lectures and students' discourses.²

Brown thought it better "to give the bona fide diligent student all possible means of improvement, even at the risk of some triflers making less proficiency, than they would be compelled to do if subjected to examination."³

Brown, therefore, largely devoted the second part of the class time to hearing and criticizing the students' exegetical exercises.⁴ A description of these exercises is drawn by M'Kerrow in his History of the Secession Church:

These exercises, one of which is required each session from every student, are expected to be pieces of strict exegesis; a clear exposition of the words, phrases, and sentiments of the passage, with a statement of the reasons on which the exposition is founded. The students are required to deliver the discourses memoriter. They are invited to criticise each other, but seldom accept the invitation. Subjects of discourses are generally given them in a regular series, so that the Professor in his critiques is enabled to expound a portion more of holy writ.⁵

In criticizing the students' exercises Dr. Brown invariably

1 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), p. 44.

2 John M'Kerrow, History of the Secession Church, (Edinburgh: 1841), p. 799.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

gave a skilful exegesis of their texts, especially if they missed the sense of the passage, but on the preaching element of their discourses, his criticism fell into one of three or four stereotyped patterns.¹ From the first sentence, the students knew whether he was going to condemn or praise and to what degree it would be carried. Rev. Peter Landreth, a former student, sets forth the following critical observations on Brown's method of criticism:

If the special meaning of a text had been elucidated by a student, who yet had displayed no superior abilities, the professor's emphatic eulogy, and the very words in amplification of "well done," could have been repeated before the professor opened his lips. The criticism lacked such a freshness and elasticity as suited the variety and individuality of the discourses. The three or four judgments were considerably too few for the forty or fifty discourses to which they were forcibly fitted; yet of very high intellectual merit he had quick and sure appreciation, even when he censured with superfluous wrath some exegetical shortcomings.²

Though ruling his class with an authoritative hand, Brown was indulgent "to everything but conceit, slovenliness of mind and body, irreverence, and above all handling the Word of God deceitfully."³ His son, John Brown, M.D., sheds further light on how he criticized:

A student having delivered in the Hall a discourse tinged with Arminianism, he said, "That may be the gospel according to Dr. Macknight, or the gospel according to Dr.

¹ P. Landreth, The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, (Edinburgh: 1876), p. 254.

² Ibid.

³ John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1861), pp. 70, 71.

Taylor of Norwich, but it is not the gospel according to the Apostle Paul; and if I thought the sentiments expressed were his own, if I had not thought he has taken his thoughts from commentators without carefully considering them, I would think it my duty to him and to the church to make him no longer a student of divinity here." He was often unconsciously severe, from his saying exactly what he felt. On a student's ending his discourse, his only criticism was, "the strongest characteristic of this discourse is weakness," and feeling that this was really all he had to say, he ended.¹

Severe criticism was less likely to be given than a sentence of praise which inevitably followed diligence and honesty; the students were led to place their full confidence in him.

Indeed, Dr. Brown spared no effort in establishing an intimate relationship with his students and encouraged them to bring their problems to him. Assistance and advice were graciously given to all. Each year he invited small groups of students to his home; his son, reveals how he worked to win their friendship:

His affectionate ways with his students were often curious. He contrived to get at their hearts, and find out all their family and local specialities, in a sort of shorthand way, and he never forgot them in after life; and watching him with them at tea, speaking his mind freely and often jocularly upon all sorts of subjects, one got a glimpse of that union of opposites which made him so much of what he was, he gave out far more liberally to them the riches of his learning and the deep thought of his heart, than he ever did among his full-grown brethren.²

At these informal gatherings, which were usually held in his library, Brown entertained his students by giving "a highly instructive monologue upon authors and systems; book after

1 Ibid., p. 71.

2 Ibid., p. 70.

book being taken down from his shelves, and passages read in illustration."¹ If the theme was started, he would read English and Scottish rhymed versions of Psalms, of which he had a unique collection, and compare their beauties and their merits.² Or if the reformers and their mutual relations were mentioned, he would find Luther's apologetic Latin preface to Melancthon, for stealing and publishing his notes on Romans, and read with keen delight.³ Or he might hand round an original copy of Milton's Areopagitica.⁴ Or if a student inquired after his editions of the New Testament, he would happily open the first edition of Erasmus, the earliest published in 1516; "then Stephen's first, the O Mirifica, in 1546; then Beza's first, in 1565, based on the third of Stephens; then the first Elzevir, in 1524; and then the second Elzevir, which called itself, Textum ab omnibus receptum, out of which mendacious statement sprang the received text."⁵ These library lectures were not confined to his students only, but were shared with all his friends.⁶

Dr. Brown sought to widen and deepen the literary knowledge of his students; he earnestly recommended to them

1 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 162.

2 "Dr. Brown's Life and Works," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, (Edinburgh: August-November, 1860), p. 39.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., pp. 38, 39.

the cultivation of classical and general literature, as well as theological.¹ He set a good example for his students, because his knowledge of the Greek and Roman authors and the great English classics was second only to that of the Bible.² He was also well acquainted with Latin Literature of the Reformation period, the French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Scottish of all ages.³ In theological literature, he urged his students to shun the strictly sectarian spirit and to strive for a catholic attainment.⁴ It was his earnest desire that they should be "free men in the great commonwealth of Christian lettered men," that they should not be "strangers to the Fathers nor to the Reformers,"⁵ and that they should be acquainted with the writings of such men as,

. . . Howe, and Owen, and Baxter, and Fuller, and Hall, among the English non-conformists--as Binning, and Durham, and Haliburton, and Boston, and Riccalton, and M'Laurin, and Witherspoon, and Erskine, and Campbell of our national church--as John Glas and Archibald M'Lean among the Scottish independents and Baptists--as Hooker, and Hall, and Taylor, and Barrow, and Butler, aye, and Warburton, and Horsley of the English Episcopalian church--as Cowper, and Forbes, Leighton, and Scougal of the Scottish church of the same order--as Edwards, and Dickinson, and Davies, and Bellamy, and Smalley, and Dwight among the American congregationalists.⁶

At the same time, Dr. Brown hoped that his students would make

1 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, (Edinburgh: 1841), pp. 51ff.

2 John Cairns, Memoir of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860), p. 162.

3 Ibid.

4 John Brown, Hints to Students of Divinity, pp. 51, 52.

5 Ibid., p. 52.

6 Ibid., pp. 52, 53-57.

themselves intimately familiar with the literature of their denomination; in his Hints to Students of Divinity, published in 1841, he suggested the following men of the Secession Church: William Wilson, Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, Alexander Moncreiff, and James Fisher; the sermons of Swanstons, both father and son, Arnot, Shanks, Wilson, Young, Jerment, Frazer, Fisher, Brown (Ebenezer and Thomas), and of Pringle; the works of Archibald Hall, Brown of Haddington, Professor Lawson, Dr. Dick, Dr. Belfrage, Professor Bruce, and Dr. M'Crie.¹

The affectionate interest which Brown showered upon his students while they were under his instruction, continued unabated after they left the Hall. His interest followed them to the scenes of their ministry; he watched their growth in wisdom and their progress in the faith with eagerness.² When they visited him from time to time, he received them with great joy and earnestly inquired after their ministry. His genuine concern for them touched a responsive chord and his former students came to look upon Dr. Brown as something more than their old professor, as a venerable father and trusted friend.³

V. CONCLUSION

As Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United

¹ Ibid.

² The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., "The Address from the Ministers of the Church Who had studied under Dr. Brown," (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 57-58.

³ Ibid.

Presbyterian Church, Dr. Brown manifest great learning, exercised unusual powers of exegesis, and wrought a profound and permanent influence upon his students and through them upon the United Presbyterian Church. He initiated an extended scheme of professorial instruction in the United Secession Divinity Hall, which introduced the first separate chair of exegetical theology in Scotland.¹ In the unanimous judgment of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church which was expressed after his death, Brown filled this new chair for a quarter of century "with distinguished credit to himself, profit to his students, and satisfaction to the Church."²

Brown's lectures had great indoctrinating power, which according to Dr. Harper, "proceeded from the perfect clearness and precision with which he defined his subject, stated the different views of it, summed up the arguments for each, and enforced the conclusion which he was led to adopt."³ Dr. Harper also related this further explanation of that power:

What ever he advanced was felt to be addressed to the judgment, and the truth deduced stood out in the light of its evidence, and its native proportions, clear as day. Difficulties, when they were met, were not put aside, but examined; their force duly weighed, and candidly admitted. Solutions were given with no air of confidence beyond what their obviously intrinsic value justified; and the authority of the preceptor rose as his expositions were seen to rest on the evidence of the truth.⁴

1 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1859), pp. 213, 214.

2 Ibid.

3 Andrew Thomson and James Harper, Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1858), p. 68.

4 Ibid.

A moral element suffused his lectures and added not a little to their indoctrinating power. Harper remarked that,

The learned critic was himself the loving disciple The bearing of the whole man in the chair of instruction; the very aspect with which he gave out the meaning of the word when he had found it; nay, the tones of voice, now deep in their solemnity, now tremulous with emotion, bespoke the humility of the man of God as much as the ability of the instructor; and together gave to his prelections that power to indoctrinate the minds of intelligent youth which has already, told, and will continue to tell, on the pulpits of our rising ministry.¹

Throughout all his lectures, by strenuously and incessantly reiterating his primary principle of exegesis, i.e. always to abide by the true sense of Scripture and that alone, and by diligently searching out the sense of Scripture and holding it up in self-evident clearness, Brown successfully indoctrinated his students with evangelical truth, a reverence for the Bible, and a love for Christ; he developed in them an exegetical conscience and imbued them with a more biblical theology than had been given to students of previous generations.² Eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of Brown's teaching was registered in an Address, given at his Jubilee, and signed by upwards of 150 ministers who had studied under him:

We beg to express our unaffected admiration of the high and varied gifts by which, for nearly a quarter of a century, you have adorned our Theological Hall; and

¹ Ibid., pp. 68, 69.

² The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1856), pp. 62, 65, 88, 93, 105, 120.

especially of that singular genius for Scripture interpretation, by the laborious and devoted culture of which, God has honoured you to exercise a most salutary influence upon our own section of the church, and to supply a much needed element to the Christianity of our land. On your behalf, we thank the Father of light, to whom we unfeignedly ascribe that rare union of endowment, scholarship, and piety, by which you have been enabled to accomplish a work so important¹

To this Address, Rev. John Ker, minister of Sydney Place, Glasgow, appended these personal remarks:

Our love to that book round which we seek to gather men as God's sure and perfect word . . . cannot grow without growing gratitude to him who taught us first fully to use the key to it, and pressed us, instead of human mists put for it, and human meanings put into it, to aim alone at bringing out "its righteousness as the light, and its judgment as the noonday."

Our veneration for the great Master we have chosen, and our delight in Him with a sacred personal joy while we do Him service, will always have mingled with them the closest and most endearing recollections of a teacher who led us by words and by example to revere above all, that first authority, "One is your Master, even Christ," and who so affectionately and earnestly urged us to make his cross first our own hope, and then our only theme.

Our devotion to our work . . . our appreciation of its infinite importance, and our pursuit of it with aught of the feeling, "This one thing I do," can by many of us be dated in their commencement to the deep earnestness with which you urged the eternal points at issue, and exemplified your sense of them in the yearning of your heart toward ourselves.²

The Probationers, who were educated under Dr. Brown, echoed similar thoughts in their Address:

We esteem it as a very high privilege that we have enjoyed the benefit of your instructions, and gratefully acknowledge the obligations under which you have laid

1 Ibid., p. 58.

2 Ibid., p. 62.

us, by your clear and earnest exhibitions of the meaning of the Word of God, and by your faithful dealing with our own consciences and hearts. You have made us feel, Honoured Sir, that the true basis of all theology is the sound interpretation of the Bible; and that one of the first requisites and best qualification for such interpretation is a sanctified heart.¹

Dr. Brown's influence over his students was greater because it extended beyond the boundaries of the learned Scholar, the honored Professor, and the original Interpreter, to the more personal realm of venerable father and friend. His close friendship with students is illustrated in the relationship between Dr. Brown and Dr. Cairns, of which Alexander MacEwen says,

In 1839 Cairns placed himself under Dr. Brown's pastoral care. But it was when he entered the Hall that he first learned the impressiveness of Dr. Brown's mental and moral character, and was admitted to an intimate friendship which became more and more to him every year. It was not possible for him to follow any man blindly. He soon diverged in ecclesiastical and theological opinions from Dr. Brown. Yet the lines of his future labours were largely determined by the tone and temper of Dr. Brown's ministry and professorship.²

In giving an account of the friends of John Cairns, MacEwen wrote,

There was the venerable Dr. Brown, to whom he always wrote as 'My dear Father,' an unemotional man of strong and godly character, who guided the impulsive young theologian as one of his own sons When Dr. Brown dies, his grief is almost passionate, and he

1 Ibid., p. 65.

2 Alexander MacEwen, Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D., (London: 1898), p. 111.

can barely express sympathy with the sorrowing household.¹

This chapter can best be concluded with the high tribute of Rev. John Ker, who captures the feeling of Brown's students with these words:

We cannot but recall more than the labours of the instructor, even the interest of a friend, and the solicitude of a father. These we felt more than then we might be able to show, and these we know followed us when we left your immediate care. The thought that your eye and heart were accompanying us to spheres of labour, . . . were among the strongest motive beneath the highest, to fortify us at our post, to lead us to prosecute our work and warfare, . . . The influence of your personal Christian character, ardent and single-minded in action, firm and rock-like in trial, generous and sympathizing in repose, and if change greater should come, the memory of it will still be a shadow from a tower of strength to make us thank God, that we were once brought close to you in knowledge and love.²

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 63.

CHAPTER VI

AN EVALUATION

To obtain a sound evaluation of John Brown as Churchman and Theologian, one must first see what the chief characteristics of his nature as a person and a man really were. Fortunately, what he was lives for ever in the beautiful figure that is drawn in the exquisite bit of biography which his oldest son penned as A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., from which we have frequently extracted material giving insight into Brown's private and public life. Some of the characteristics of Brown's nature are summarized by his son in the Introduction to the Letter:

As he was of the Pauline type of mind, his Christianity ran into the same mould. A strong, intense and vehement nature with masculine intellect and unyielding will, he accepted the Bible in its literal simplicity as an absolute revelation, and then showed the strength of his character in subjecting his whole being to this decisive influence in projecting the same convictions into other minds. He was a believer in the sense of the Old Puritans, and amid the doubt and scepticism of the nineteenth century, held as firmly as any of them by the doctrines of atonement and grace. He had most of the idiosyncrasy of Baxter, though not without the contemplation of Howe. The doctrines of Calvinism mitigated but not renounced, and received simply as dictates of heaven, without any effort or hope to bridge over their inscrutable depths by philosophical theories, he translated into a fervent, humble, and resolutely active life.¹

Clearness of apprehension, penetration and soundness of judg-

¹ John Brown, A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., (Edinburgh: 1860).

ment, a depth of reflection, a strength of memory and a capacity of acquisition were the main qualities of his mind, which when applied to theology made him a scholar, a critic, and an expositor. Though he possessed great acquiring power, learning, strong sense, and keen reasoning ability, he was not distinctly gifted with original or inventive faculty. By nature, he was shy, silent, retiring and reticent, absorbed in his work, dignified both in person and manners, so that from his undemonstrative ways and formal reserve one could easily obtain a false understanding of the real man as if he were essentially haughty, cold, unsocial, and perhaps even selfish in his self-absorption, a student merely rather than a man, who was vitally interested in his fellows and in human affairs. But beneath all Brown's reticence, there lurked a rich, tender, strongly-marked, ardently affectionate nature, a vital part of the whole man, which he poignantly exhibited in his occasionally brilliant, happy, energetic talk; in his excitable nature needing and relishing excitement and finding it in his keen political tastes, his love of imaginative literature and the highest kind of poetry, and in his liking for a good novel; in his loyalty to his friends and his genuine concern for his students. In his inner nature, Brown was also singularly devout, pure-minded, and benevolent. His personal appearance reflected his nature, for Elizabeth T. M'Laren, a friend of the Brown family, wrote, "His face

with its blending of beauty, dignity, and sweetness, could never be forgotten. His whole bearing was impressive, and marked him out, quite unconsciously, from ordinary men."¹

The outstanding feature of Brown's private life was his excessive industry. He was capable of great, persistent and even dogged labor; this labor was with him identical with his love of usefulness. Indeed, his fame and usefulness as a preacher, professor, and expositor rested more on hard labor than on original gift. Even so, he was richly endowed with a talent of extraordinary mental ability which was freely and incessantly used in the business of his Master. Brown's labor was with books, for he was more a man of thought and of study than of action. Intensive study and profound thought were the foundation stones which underlay all of his public utterances and published works. As his magnificent library would illustrate, Brown had a burning love for books which was extinguished only by his death. His book of books, before which he made his thousands of volumes stand in silent subservience, was the Bible. The Bible was Brown's life-long textbook, which he diligently and reverently studied during the fifty-two years of his ministry. That he unequivocally received the Bible as a literal transcript, an

1. John Brown, and D.W. Forrest, Letters of Dr. John Brown, "Introduction" by Elizabeth T. M'Laren, (London: 1907), p. 3.

infallible, inerrant revelation of the Divine will, God's thoughts in God's words, is repeatedly attested to by him in his expositions. For Brown, the authority of the Bible was supreme and final; as a thoroughgoing Calvinist, he firmly held that the Holy Spirit witnessed to its truth, in the heart. His profound reverence for the Word of God embraced its detailed statement as well as its general substance. The importance of the Bible in Brown's life and thought can hardly be overestimated; it was the center around which all of his study, reading, preaching, teaching, and writing continually moved. Of the Bible, he wrote, "A well understood Bible is the only basis of a sound theology, and enlightened piety, practical godliness, solid comfort, and extensive usefulness."¹ To achieve this understanding of the Bible and to interpret its true meaning to his people and his students became the passion of Brown's life and work into which he gladly poured the energies of his mind and body. At great cost of labor, he acquainted himself with the writings of the great scientific expositors who had written in Greek, Latin and English.

As an expositor, Brown had but one desire, and that was to discover the mind of the Spirit in His own word; in

1 John Brown, Parting Counsels: An Exposition of the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of the Apostle Peter, (Edinburgh: 1856), p. 219.

expounding a passage of Scripture, he labored to bring out its true meaning, the peculiar truth of a passage and no other. His two questions were, what was this oracle in sense to those who first received it, and what is it still to us? His plan of exegesis was 'to make the Bible the basis and test of the system' of theology and not 'to make the system the principal and, in effect, sole means of the interpretation of the Bible.'¹ But he was only partially successful in carrying out this method, for his bias for Calvinistic doctrine shone through almost every interpretation. This Calvinistic bias was particularly evident in his expositions in which he set forth the doctrines of God,² Man,³ Justification by Faith,⁴ the Bible,⁵ and the Sacraments.⁶ Brown's exegetical work was largely limited to philological, grammatical, or linguistic criticism in which he patiently sought the true meaning of every word, phrase, sentence, and

1 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians, (Edinburgh: 1858), p. viii.

2 John Brown, An Exposition of Our Lord's Intercessory Prayer, (Edinburgh: 1850), pp. 25, 26.

3 John Brown, The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah: An Exposition of Psalm XVIII, and Isaiah LII. 13-LIII, (Edinburgh: 1853), pp. 228-233.

4 John Brown, Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, (Edinburgh: 1857), pp. 46-263.

5 John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, edited by David Smith, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: 1862), pp. 18-21.

6 John Brown, Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper, (Edinburgh: 1823), 2nd ed., pp. 12-20, 25-27.

paragraph. To Lower, Higher, and Historical Criticism, he contributed little or nothing. As to the date, authorship, and literary structure of the books which he expounded, he usually accepted the ones of the orthodox scholars. The historicity, authenticity, or even canonicity of the books of the Bible were never seriously questioned by Brown; he had no difficulty in accepting the Books of Genesis, Job, Jonah, and Daniel as true historical records. Lacking a knowledge of German, Brown was not able to keep abreast of contemporary developments in German scholarship; his exegetical studies were limited by this deficiency except where the German scholars had written in Latin or their works had been translated into English.

Despite these limitations, Brown exercised considerable influence upon Biblical Exegesis in Scotland. Dr. William Taylor in The Scottish Pulpit From the Reformation to the Present Day, asserted that,

. . . the name of John Brown marks the beginning of an era not only in his own denomination, but in Scotland generally. He was in that country very much what Moses Stuart was in New England, the regenerator, if not the father, of exact Scriptural exegesis, and for that he deserves to be held in lasting honor.¹

It is doubtful that one can claim for Brown the title of "the father of exact Scriptural exegesis" in Scotland, for there

1 William M. Taylor, The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day, (London: 1887), pp. 227ff.

were a number of Scottish commentators and scholars of no mean note who had gone before him, e.g. Principals Rollock, Boyd, Malcolm, Row, and Cameron. The latter of these men, John Cameron, was one of the most noted scholars and theologians of his time, who, though he taught in the colleges of Bordeaux, Sedan, and Saumur, also held a chair in the University of Glasgow at one time. Others who preceded Brown in Biblical studies included: Simpson, Weemse, Cockburn, Ferme, the younger Forbes, Ker, Brown of Wamphray, Gerard, Campbell and Macknight. But no permanent influence upon exegetical studies was wrought by these men who lived at various periods during the three centuries before Brown. It was Brown's good fortune to live in more favorable times when Greek and Hebrew scholars made some very valuable advances in Biblical studies in the way of new grammars and lexicons. And by his expository discourses from the pulpit, by his exegetical lectures from the chair in which he conveyed his enthusiasm for learned exegesis to a host of younger minds, and by his published expositions, Brown undoubtedly gave popularity to exegetical study. In this way, then, we can agree with Taylor in saying that Brown was "the regenerator of exact Scriptural exegesis" in Scotland and that he thus inaugurated a new era of Biblical study that was destined to continue, to grow, and to supersede his work. In an address to the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church,

in 1879, Dr. Thomas Whitelaw, minister of King Street Church, Kilmarnock, set forth his evaluation of Brown as an exegete:

John Brown was the foremost New Testament exegete of his day in Scotland, a master mind of advanced scholarship and true spiritual insight, in whose hands Bible exposition became a new art, and the sacred volume, instead of being compelled, as frequently before had been the case, to talk like the Westminster Confession or Shorter Catechism, began, through strict grammatical investigation and careful exposition, to speak with its own simple and liquid accents.¹

While we heartily agree with the first part of the above statement, we can accept the second part only with reservation. Certainly, Brown did not compel Scripture to adhere rigidly to the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Shorter Catechism, which was boldly illustrated in the Atonement Controversy, but the underlying presuppositions of almost all his interpretations of Scripture varied little from the teachings of the Confession.

The mature fruits of Brown's strenuous exegetical labors are embodied in his voluminous works, which remain as a memorial to his indomitable industry, no less than to the reverence, with which he studied the Bible. Although Brown had published numerous pamphlets and books, no learned work, except his treatise on Civil Obedience, was sent to the press until 1848, when his Expository Discourses on the

¹ Memorial of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church May 1897, "The Church's Home Work in the Training and Maintenance of a Gospel Ministry," by Dr. Thomas Whitelaw, (Edinburgh: 1897), p. 123.

First Epistle of Peter was printed. This three volume work received favorable criticism from the reviewers, and Brown was encouraged to prepare and to publish expositions of the Gospels, I Corinthians 15, Psalm 18 and Isaiah 53, Galatians, II Peter, and Romans. Eleven octavo volumes plus some minor works, were issued by him from 1848 to 1857. Only his exposition of Hebrews was retained; it was edited and published in two volumes by his friend, David Smith of Biggar, in 1862. His expository works have many qualities which commended them to the students, ministers, and people of his day. They are logical, elaborate, thorough, yet popular in form. The meaning of Scripture is anxiously sought for and is clearly given out without the parade of learning or technicalities of exegesis that usually accompany such works. His expositions are marked by sound, consecutive arguments, rich evangelical statements, and pervaded by a tone of spiritual elevation. Scripture is frequently and appropriately quoted to support his interpretation; Brown habitually uses Scripture to interpret Scripture. He is exceedingly scrupulous, considerate, and guarded in his statements and never dogmatizes without the plain evidence of Scripture to support and substantiate him. Another characteristic feature is the frequency with which he presents to the reader a short, comprehensive view of the gospel salvation. These repetitions detract from the value of the works, but they illustrate the centrality of the

gospel salvation in Brown's theological thought. Brown's strength as an expositor is not in discussing separate words and shades of meaning, but in tracing the course of ideas and in developing the chain of argument which the Scripture writer uses. This he does with clearness, terseness, and cogency in his work on Romans, which is probably his best exposition. Dr. David Smith, minister of the Moat Park Church in Biggar, aptly summarizes the qualities which distinguish Brown's expository works:

. . . singular clearness of apprehension, remarkable conciseness and precision of language, a sacred regard to the authority of the inspired writer, a rich savour of evangelical doctrine, and a fearless following out of, and giving expression to, what in his judgment and conscience he believed to be the mind of the Holy Ghost. There is not a single instance, he thinks, of carelessness in investigating the true meaning of a text, or of timidity in stating the conclusion at which the Author had arrived. To every passage, and every clause of a passage, he gives the most critical attention; and, though not hyper-critical, he is very particular and minute in his examination His great object, obviously, always is to bring the minds of his hearers and readers into immediate contact with the mind of the Spirit¹

Though Brown's expositions were favorably received and widely read in Scotland and America during his lifetime, they quickly passed out of publication after his death. Several of them reached second and third editions, but the others went out of print after the first edition. While they truly

¹ John Brown, An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews, Vol. I, edited by David Smith, (Edinburgh: 1862), p. vi.

contain the qualities which are listed above, there is something in their form, style, substance, and cast of their scholarship that prevented them from being of permanent value. As to form, his expositions are neither lectures nor sermons and in an attempt to combine the advantages of both, he deviates from the established model of either. In style, they are a mixture of the learned and popular; in effecting this compromise between the learned and popular, Brown produced expositions that are not really suitable either for the scholar or the people. This is a major defect, for what is meant for the people should be in material and texture written for the people and what is intended for the scholar should be in structure and content adapted to the scholar. Some of Brown's expositions are more popular than learned in style, e.g. I Peter, the Gospels, Romans, and II Peter, whereas others are more learned than popular, e.g. Psalm 18 and Isaiah 53, Galatians, and Hebrews. Brown is a clear thinker and expresses his thoughts in plain and unpretentious language, but his style is often complicated and too parenthetical. He interjects so many phrases and clauses into his longest sentences and longest paragraphs that it is difficult for the reader to distinguish the living idea from the multiplicity of mere words. The substance of his expositions contains little that can be called original. Originality is not a merit of his works, for he presents no

new doctrines and no new views. He merely discusses and re-discusses old doctrines and old orthodox theology in a rather dry and tedious manner. He had little of the gift of insight or the faculty of imagination, for his writings contain no colorful expressions, no sparkling ideas, and no stimulating and challenging thoughts that attract and hold the attention of the reader. Finally, his scholarship was antiquated, for the basis of his linguistic attainments was laid before the contemporary productions of German learning were extensively known in Scotland. Thus, by the time Brown published his expositions, much of his exegetical work was already outdated. His expository works were completely superseded after his death by the labors of later scholars who were better equipped for their work than it was possible for him to be. Nevertheless, the general forward movement in exegetical theology in Scotland by which he was himself superseded, came first and mainly from him.

In the privacy of his home and the solitude of his study, Brown was primarily a man of thought, of learning, and of incessant industry, but before the public, he was a man of action who gladly used his consecrated learning in the service of his Master and the work of his Church. For thirty years, Brown took a prominent part in the theological and ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland; in the Secession and United Presbyterian Churches, he was not only their

finest Biblical scholar but one of their most distinguished leaders. As a Churchman, he exemplified and helped to establish the distinguishing characteristics of the United Presbyterian Church.

The distinguishing characteristics, which Brown fostered and helped to establish in the United Presbyterian Church, included: fervent evangelical and expository preaching, zealous foreign missionary endeavor, voluntary support of religion, and the complete separation of Church and State. A preacher of great power and popularity, Brown consistently and faithfully set forth the Word of Life to his people and always maintained a testimony for the great evangelical truths, which he considered to be the very essence of the Christian doctrine. Because he had an overwhelming concern for the souls of men and their salvation, he preached Christ, the Son of God as the Saviour of man with unwearied diligence from the beginning to the end of his ministry. Before his day, the style of preaching in the Secession Churches had been patterned largely after the stereotyped method of the Erskines and had little pretension to exegetical exactness. But Brown's preaching marked the beginning of a new era in his Church. Exact exegetical study of the Bible formed the solid basis of his discourses, for it was his aim to bring his hearers face to face with the Word of God and to expound only the proper meaning of a passage of Scripture. The results of his

prodigious exegetical study of the Bible were eagerly shared with his people from Sunday to Sunday. His power as a preacher lay in the clear statement and cogent enforcement of the meaning of Scripture; his popularity rested on his expository discourses. In brief, his preaching was authoritative, clear, powerful, and evangelical; his pulpit expositions furnished a pattern of preaching which was assiduously followed by the young theological students who regularly attended his church.

Many years before his Church recognized missions as a regular part of its work, Brown was personally supporting and publicly exhorting his people to missionary endeavor. He was a zealous member of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, and when it became the Scottish Missionary Society, he served on the Board of Trustees. For the Scottish Missionary Society, he made trips to England and Ireland, preaching and collecting money for its support; for the Associate Secession Synod, he made a preaching excursion into the Highlands of Scotland. At the same time, he was a member of the Edinburgh Bible Society; when this Society broke away from the parent society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the bitter controversy over the printing and circulating of the Apocryphal books, Brown justly pleaded the cause of the B.F.B.S., even though he was strongly opposed by the other Scottish leaders of the E.B.S. Under Brown's persistent preaching and

diligent pastoral work, his congregations learned to give generously to the work of missions, both home and foreign. The Broughton Place congregation set an outstanding example for the rest of the Church in missionary giving during Brown's ministry. From 1835 onward, the congregation fully supported missions at Canongate, Edinburgh, and New Broughton, Jamaica; in 1856, it helped to open the Calabar Mission at Ikorofiong. This zeal for missions, which Brown generated in Broughton Place Church, contributed not a little to give the United Presbyterian Church that impulse for foreign missionary endeavor which made foreign missions its forte for a half century.

The brilliant missionary endeavor of the United Presbyterian Church was made possible by the voluntary gifts of its members. From the beginning, the ministers of the United Presbyterian Church had been maintained by the voluntary gifts of their people, but the voluntary support of religion as a principle of the Church was not clearly enunciated until the Voluntary controversy broke out in Scotland in the 1830's. It was at this time that the Seceders and other Dissenters began to advocate what they called the Voluntary principle, which was both positive and negative. Along with other Dissenters, Brown publicly declared that religion should be supported only by the voluntary gifts of the people, the positive side, and that

since religion was a personal matter, the State should neither recognize nor support the Church, i.e., there should be a complete separation of Church and State, the negative side.

Positive Voluntaryism or Christian liberality was a good principle, for it taught the people to give sacrificially of their money to the Church and enabled the Church to do its God-given work among the people. The voluntary support of religion as a principle was formally set down in the Basis of Union between the Relief and United Secession Churches in 1847; it was reiterated in the Declaratory Act of the United Presbyterian Church in 1879. The potency of this positive principle for good in the Churches in Scotland can hardly be estimated.

Negative Voluntaryism or the complete separation of Church and State, however, contained certain evils which happily the Church of Scotland successfully resisted. Briefly, the evils of negative Voluntaryism were: it advocated a radical break with the history and tradition of Scotland; it made religion a strictly private matter, something which it never can be really, for it is also social and corporate in its living expression; it tended to secularize the State and to set it off as a part of the evil world, even though the State as an institution is ordained of God; it forbade the State ^{to carry?} from carrying out an essential part of its responsibility, i.e., the encouragement,

promotion, and support of morality and religion among its citizens; and finally it would have lowered the Church of Scotland to the status of just another sect and forwarded the sectarian view of the Church. The evils of negative Voluntaryism were not apparent to the Voluntaries, but they readily saw many evils in religious establishments and eagerly worked for their overthrow. In this respect, John Brown was no different than the rest of the Voluntary leaders, for he repeatedly condemned the evils of the Established Church, especially the Church's connection with the State, and strongly advocated the complete separation of Church and State. When the Church of Scotland sought additional endowments from the Government to provide religious education for a vastly enlarged population, Brown and all Dissenters bitterly and successfully opposed the granting of these new endowments. Reviewing Brown's statements, addresses, and lectures in which he discusses religious endowments, religious establishments, and Voluntaryism, we find that denominational self-interest and provincial pride dominate his thought; his primary concern is for the Dissenters and not the welfare of the whole nation. Civil and religious liberty, after the great truths, duties, and hopes of the Christian Faith, was a master passion of Brown's life; we believe that this passion overruled his judgment and led him to exaggerate the Church's spiritual and political independence. Brown's great love for civil and

religious liberty was plainly manifest in the Voluntary controversy. Unafraid to stand alone and never one to court popularity, he was the only Dissenting minister in Edinburgh who refused to pay the Annuity Tax. His passive resistance to a direct tax that was particularly odious to Dissenters, revealed the independent turn of his mind and the strength of his conscientious convictions. His staunch resistance to payment of the tax was vindicated in 1865 by the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, which refused to pay the tax, and in 1870 by the Edinburgh Corporation, which permanently redeemed the tax from the Edinburgh Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The negative Voluntaryism which Brown forcefully advocated by word and deed, became a distinguishing characteristic of the United Presbyterian Church.

As a Theologian, Brown was neither brilliant nor original, but he was independent and mildly liberal. While vigorously upholding strong Calvinistic doctrines of the Christian Faith, he successfully strove for a more liberal tone in the statement of his Church's theology. His independence and mild liberalism in theology appear when he calmly adds to the Calvinistic Doctrine of Atonement, and sets off a violent theological controversy in the United Secession Church. Brown tenaciously held to the Doctrine of Election, but he also contended for an un-Calvinistic universalism. For he declared that "not only did Christ

die with the intention of saving the elect, but that he died for all men so as to lay a foundation for unlimited calls and invitations to mankind to accept salvation in the belief of the gospel."¹ Thus, a general reference of the Atonement of Christ, which is free to all mankind if they will believe, is balanced with a particular reference, which is applicable only to the elect. This sentiment was not original with Brown; as he readily admitted, it was first taught by John Cameron and afterwards was successfully defended by Moses Amyraut during the 17th century. Brown had no difficulty in accepting a more liberal view of the Atonement of Christ, for he was firmly convinced that it belonged to Calvinistic thought rather than to Arminianism or Universalism and that it was really no material deviation from Calvinism. As a Biblical Theologian, his study of the Scripture gave him strong support for the general reference of Christ's Atonement as well as the particular reference. During the Atonement controversy, which ended with Brown's trial for heresy, he resolutely and victoriously defended his adopted views of the Atonement before the Synod of the United Secession Church. The stature, influence, and position of Brown in the Synod was very great; throughout the long controversy, in which he was

1 John Brown, "Notes, Chiefly Historical, On the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ," United Secession Magazine, (June, 1841), p. 285.

repeatedly placed under the suspicion of heresy, he never once lacked the confidence of a large majority of the Synod. It is interesting to see how the Synod consistently supported Brown. He expressed in word what many ministers already believed; in loyally supporting him, they were really vindicating their own orthodoxy. It was Brown's honor to lead his Church through painful and personal controversy to accept in fact what was already accepted in practice, a more liberal interpretation of doctrinal theology, and thus gained a more reasonable freedom than had been formerly conceded. Brown's wider view of the Atonement of Christ became an integral part of the doctrine of the United Presbyterian Church. At first, it appeared to be only an innocent addition to Calvinism, but it was actually the opening wedge for a greater freedom of thought in Scottish Theology, a positive step toward the liberalizing of Scottish Theology. The final liberation of Scottish Theology from the sterner doctrines of Calvinism, which Brown had a large part in initiating, was completed toward the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. In the United Presbyterian Church the liberation was effected under the capable leadership of Principal John Cairns, who as an old student and close friend carried forward Brown's work to its logical conclusion. In Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church had the honor of leading the way in recognizing liberty of thought "on such

points of doctrine as do not enter into the substance of the faith;"¹ in the Declaratory Act of 1879, the Church gave a larger place to the love of God and greater prominence to the propitiation of Christ for the whole world. Similar doctrinal changes were made by the Free Church of Scotland in 1892 and the Church of Scotland in 1910. In Scottish Theology, the name of John Brown should be remembered because he instigated a change in doctrine that in the opinion of Dr. John Macleod, Principal-Emeritus of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, was "more or less of a revolution."²

As Professor Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church, Brown exercised a profound and permanent influence upon his students and through them upon the United Presbyterian Church. In Scotland, the proposal for the first separate chair in Exegetical Theology was initiated by Brown; when the United Associate Synod established the chair, he was the first one to occupy the new and important office. Brown was greatly respected by his students who regarded him not only as a scholar, theologian, and professor, but as a venerable father and trusted friend. His lectures had great indoctrinating power. By strenuously and incessantly reiterating his primary principle of exegesis, i.e. to

1 Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 190.

2 John Macleod, Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History since the Reformation, (Edinburgh: 1943), p. 244.

abide always by the true sense of Scripture and holding it up in self-evident clearness, Brown successfully indoctrinated his students with evangelical truth, a reverence for the Bible, and a love for Christ. He developed in them an exegetical conscience, infected them with a lasting enthusiasm for exposition, and imbued them with a more Biblical theology than had been given to students of previous generations. Eloquent testimony to the effectiveness of Brown's teaching was recorded in an Address which was delivered at his Jubilee, having been signed by upwards of 150 ministers who had studied under him. After Brown died, his former students under the leadership of Dr. George Johnston, minister of the Nicolson Street Church of Edinburgh, expressed their affection for their old professor by contributing 1100 pounds to purchase his magnificent library and to set it up as a memorial to Dr. Brown.¹ The money was subscribed and paid to the Brown family in less than two years. The Brown Library was then transferred to Glasgow, placed in the Divinity Hall there, and presented to the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church for the use of its ministers and theological students.² Of the students who studied under Brown, several rose to places

1 Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1860), p. 313; (May, 1861), pp. 433, 434.

2 Ibid., pp. 535, 610-612. Today, the bulk of Brown's Library is to be found in Christ's College Library, Aberdeen, where it was transferred after the Union of 1900.

of prominence in the Church in Scotland. Dr. John Cairns, brilliant student, close friend, and biographer of Brown's, became the foremost leader of the United Presbyterian Church. He was appointed Professor of Apologetics in 1869, and became Principal of the Divinity Hall at Edinburgh in 1879.¹ Dr. John Ker of Glasgow, grew up under Dr. Brown's ministry in Broughton Place. He became one of the most distinguished preachers in the United Presbyterian Church; the Synod appointed him to the newly created Chair of Practical Training in its Divinity Hall in 1876.² Dr. James Morison of Kilmarnock was deposed by the United Secession Church; he formed the Evangelical Union Church which united with the Congregationalists of Scotland in 1897. Morison had been one of Brown's favorite students; Dr. William Adamson in The Life of Rev. James Morison, D.D., credits Brown with having turned Morison's mind towards exegesis:

It was Dr. Brown who gave him that bent of mind towards exegesis by which he was afterwards so strikingly characterized. Even the parts of Scripture which he expounded from the pulpit or professor's chair were frequently those on which his professor had lectured to to his class. His attachment to Brown as a Christian and a gentleman was strong and abiding, and could be dated from the first time he met this eminent divine³

¹ Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1869); (May, 1879).

² Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, (May, 1876).

³ William Adamson, The Life of the Rev. James Morison, D.D., Principal of the Evangelical Union Theological Hall, Glasgow, (London: 1898), pp. 38, 39.

This study of John Brown is concluded with the words of an anonymous writer, which appeared in The United Presbyterian Magazine¹ for July 1860, and which accurately characterize one of Scotland's greatest divines of the 19th century:

To the blended dignity, and serenity of his character, he added such stores of Biblical learning, such consecration of his powers and acquisitions to the highest works; such broad and enlightened views of human rights and duties; such warm sympathies with all truth, especially revealed truth; such calm, yet fearless advocacy of right against wrong, of freedom against tyranny, of spirituality against worldliness, that he must long stand out in the minds of men as one of those figures in which all that is commanding in lofty character is embodied with all that is attractive and hallowing in Christian worth.

1 The United Presbyterian Magazine, (July, 1860), p. 313.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE APOCRYPHA CONTROVERSY

John Brown had been an active member of the Edinburgh Bible Society,¹ an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society,² and consequently was forced to participate in the controversy that arose over the circulation of the Apocrypha with the Bible. The Apocrypha Controversy was opened to public review shortly after Mr. Robert Haldane, a vigorous leader of Evangelical Christianity in Scotland and a director of the Edinburgh Bible Society, visited the London offices of the British and Foreign Bible Society in August 1821 and by chance forgot his umbrella.³ Returning the next day to reclaim his umbrella, he unexpectedly discovered that the B.F.B.S. was publishing and circulating the Apocrypha and Bible as one volume.⁴ Upon further inquiry, he learned that the B.F.B.S., under the Central Committee, had been following this practice for several years but without the

1 William C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane, The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, (Edinburgh: 1948), p. 14.

2 Ibid., p. 13. The British and Foreign Bible Society, the parent of all Bible Societies, was founded in 1804.

3 Alexander Haldane, The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane, (3rd ed., London: 1853), p. 517.

4 Ibid.

knowledge and approval of its members.¹ Mr. Haldane vehemently denounced the practice and immediately exerted himself to bring the practice to an end.²

In addition to circulating the Apocrypha with the Bible, the B.F.B.S. had for many years given aid to affiliated societies on the Continent, i.e. Swiss, German, French, Swedish, Russian, Italian, Spanish, etc., who printed the Apocrypha with their Bibles.³ Some members of the B.F.B.S. objected to these practices and the following resolution was adopted by the Committee in 1822:

"Resolved--That when grants shall be made by any of the Bible Societies in connexion with this institution, which are accustomed to circulate the Apocrypha, it be stated to such Societies, that the attention of the Committee having been called to the fundamental Rule of the Society, as limiting the application of its funds to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures; and it appearing that this view of the said Rule has been taken from the beginning by the great body of its Members"⁴

Not wishing to alienate the Continental Bible Societies, the Committee of the B.F.B.S. added this phrase to their resolution of 1822:

". . . the Committee, anxious on the one hand to keep entire good faith with all the Members of the Society, and, on the other, to maintain unimpaired, the friendly intercourse which it has had the happiness to hold

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., pp. 518-520.

3 Charles C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, A Brief Introduction, (New Haven: 1946), p. 20.

4 William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1904), Vol. I, pp. 336-337.

with Bible Societies, which circulate books esteemed Apocrypha in this country, request of those Societies, that they will appropriate all future grants which they may receive from the British and Foreign Bible Society, exclusively to the printing of the books of the Old and New Testament, as generally received in this country, such Societies remaining at full liberty to apply their own funds in whatever way, it may seem good to them."¹

This resolution was not satisfactory to the majority of the Evangelicals who supported the B.F.B.S., for it effected no real change since the Foreign Societies could receive aid for the printing of the Canonical books and add the Apocrypha at their own expense. During the next years the Committee of the B.F.B.S. passed and rescinded several anti-Apocryphal resolutions, "according as one or the other party prevailed in Earl Street."²

The Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, who under Mr. Robert Haldane's leadership had been in correspondence with the parent Society, adopted a formal remonstrance against the circulation of the Apocrypha on January 17, 1825.³ The remonstrance embodied a series of resolutions, in which a history of the vacillating actions of the Committee of the B.F.B.S. was set down and two objections raised: That the

¹ Ibid., p. 337.

² William Law Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland, (Glasgow: 1916), p. 274.

³ Statement by the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society, (1st ed., Edinburgh: 1825), pp. 1-12.

B.F.B.S., as long as they shall, directly or indirectly, contribute to the circulation of the Apocrypha, are violating the fundamental principle on which the Society was founded, i.e. "the circulation of Holy Scripture exclusively without note or comment,"; That in contributing, directly or indirectly, to the circulation of the Apocrypha, they actually lay "a deadly snare for the souls of men" and sin against God.¹ An appendix illustrating the "corruptions of the Apocryphal Books" was added to the resolutions and the whole was sent to the Committee of the B.F.B.S. on February 24, 1825.² The objections from Scotland were gravely considered by the Committee in London and they decided to aid the circulation "of the Inspired Volume in all foreign countries, by grants of the Canonical Books, in whole or in part, without interfering with the future distribution of the same, whether with or without the Apocryphal Books."³ This decision did not satisfy the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society; on May 18, 1825, they printed and circulated among all the Bible Associations of the kingdom a Statement.⁴ It included the Resolutions and Appendix of the Remonstrance of January 17,

1 Ibid., pp. 1-8.

2 Ibid., pp. 8-11.

3 William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1904), p. 339.

4 Statement by the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, (Edinburgh: 1825), pp. 13-15.

1825, a summary of the communication with the Committee of the B.F.B.S., a demand that "grants of money or books should be given only to those Societies which profess to circulate the inspired books," and "the inspired books alone," and a formal notice of the discontinuance of all monies to the British and Foreign Bible Society until the causes of the interruption be removed.¹

The Committee of the B.F.B.S. responded to the Statement of the Committee of the E.B.S. by printing a protest in favor of the circulation of the Apocrypha which they had received from twenty-six members of the Cambridge University Senate.² It was written by Henry Venn, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, and first appeared in May 1825.³ Venn's Remarks contained an historical account of the way in which the Apocrypha books first came to be incorporated into the Bible, an assertion and proof of the impossibility of circulating the Bible without the Apocrypha among the foreign established churches, answers to the objections of the E.B.S., and a plea for the circulation of the Scriptures in a way that will be received by the Established Churches throughout the world,

1 Ibid., pp. 1-15.

2 Henry Venn, Remarks on the Propriety of Applying Funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the Circulation of such Foreign Versions as Contain the Apocrypha, in Places Where no Other Versions Will Be Generally Received. (London: 1825), p. 1.

3 Ibid., Preface.

i.e. with the Apocrypha.¹

Numerous pamphlets and articles in newspapers and magazines were presented to the public during the course of the controversy. Robert Haldane issued two lengthy reviews on the conduct of the Directors of the B.F.B.S., the first in 1825 and the second in 1826.² The gist of these writings can be summed up in his two mottoes: "Add thou not unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found a liar." (Prov. 30:6); and "Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord?" (2 Chron. 19:2).³

On the 21st November 1825, the Committee of the B.F.B.S. approved a Final Resolution that was afterwards adopted at two Annual General Meetings of the Society in an attempt to heal the breach:

"That the Funds of the Society be applied to the printing and circulation of the Canonical Books of Scripture, to the exclusion of those Books, and parts of Books, which are usually termed Apocryphal; and that all copies printed, either entirely or in part, at the expense of the Society, and whether such copies consist of the whole or of any one or more of such Books, be invariably issued bound; no other Books whatever being bound with them; and, further, that all money grants to Societies

¹ Ibid., pp. 1-8.

² Robert Haldane, Review of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Relative to the Apocrypha and to Their Administration on the Continent, (Edinburgh: A. Allardice and Company, 1825). Also Second Review, etc., (Edinburgh: 1826).

³ Ibid., p. 1.

and individuals be made only in conformity with the principle of this regulation."¹

The above resolution was extensively issued along with a Circular of explanation to the Members of the Society and met with general acceptance in England but not in Scotland.²

The Edinburgh and Glasgow Bible Societies were dissatisfied with the resolution; the Edinburgh Society issued a Second Statement, prepared by Dr. Andrew Thomson and published in January 1826.³ The Second Statement was composed of six

propositions with extensive proof given for each one:

1. The object of the British and Foreign Bible Society is to circulate, solely and exclusively, the Word of God;
2. The Apocrypha is justly and necessarily excluded, by the Law of the Society;
3. The idea of circulating the Apocrypha being a necessary means of getting the Bible circulated, is most erroneous in point of principle, and not even supported by fact;
4. The London Committee have been in the habit of circulating the Apocrypha along with the Bible for a long period;
5. The London Committee have shown the utmost unwillingness to relinquish the practice of circulating the Apocrypha, and to return to any thing that resembles conformity to the spirit, and principle, and laws of the Institution;
6. The Resolution passed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the 21st November last, affords no adequate security against the circulation of the Apocrypha, by means of

¹ William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1904), p. 341.

² George Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, From Its Institution in 1804, to the Close of Its Jubilee in 1854, Vol. I, (London: Bagster & Sons, 1859), pp. 102, 103.

³ Andrew Thomson, Second Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (Edinburgh: Waugh & Innes, 1826), p. 1.

funds committed to them for the purpose of promoting the circulation exclusively of the Holy Scriptures; and, moreover, conveys impressions to our minds respecting the sentiments and views of the Committee, inconsistent with due confidence in the propriety of their future procedure.¹

John Brown along with four other members² of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society dissented from the Second Statement, and the formal act of separation from the B.F.B.S., with which the Statement was concluded.³ The Dissident Members read statements before the Edinburgh Committee on March 20, 1826, in which they expressed their reasons of dissent.⁴ Brown writes that they are in agreement with the Edinburgh Committee on all actions that have been taken against the circulation of the Apocrypha by the B.F.B.S. prior to the 16th January 1826, but they dissent from the resolution, "to print, publish, and circulate their Second Statement relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha," and to withdraw from the Parent Society.⁵ He sets forth his reasons in this way:

. . . though the resolution of the Committee of the

1 Ibid., pp. 1-146.

2 The four members were: Rev. H. Grey, John Campbell, Esq., Rev. E. Craig, and Rev. G. Wardlaw.

3 Statements of Dissident Members of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, in Reference to its Separation from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Publication of its "Second Statement", (Edinburgh: Davie Brown, 1826), p. 36.

4 Ibid., pp. iii-v, 39.

5 Ibid., p. 36.

British and Foreign Bible Society of the 21st November, 1825, is not altogether satisfactory . . . it appears . . . that by friendly communications with that Committee, such additions and explanations might probably have been obtained, as would have afforded all reasonable security that the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society should henceforward be exclusively devoted to their proper object . . . that to break off the negotiation at this point was to hazard the ultimate loss of an important object, the limiting the expenditure of the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the circulation of the pure word of God; . . . though it appears that the connection of the British and Foreign Bible Society with societies and individuals in foreign parts, who circulate other books as sacred besides the holy scriptures, has led to some unhappy results, they are not prepared to say that such connections are a violation of any fundamental law of the institution; . . . that they could not approve of the manner in which this disruption has been effected, that unhesitating denunciation of some of the wisest and best men of our times, as unworthy of the confidence of the Christian public and that unshrinking readiness to dismember a confederation which, for more than twenty years, had held the whole Christian world together in the bonds of visible brotherhood¹

Thus, in dissenting from the Second Statement of the E.B.S., Brown chose to fight for a freedom of thought that was sadly missing from the decisions and writings of his Evangelical brethren, e.g. Robert Haldane and Andrew Thomson.² Brown saw beyond the narrow issues of the immediate controversy to the value and glory of the "visible brotherhood" that had been achieved in the Christian world through the work of the

¹ Ibid., pp. 36-39.

² See Robert Haldane's two long Reviews of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Andrew Thomson's Second and Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society.

B.F.B.S., and absolutely refused to be a party to its destruction.

In a second attempt to heal the breach between the Parent Society and the Bible Societies of Scotland, a deputation was sent by the Committee of the B.F.B.S. to meet with the Auxiliary Societies at Edinburgh and Glasgow in April, 1826.¹ Out of these conferences, three regulations were formulated and adopted on May 3, 1826, by the B.F.B.S., becoming a part of the fundamental Rule of the Society:

1. That the fundamental law of the Society, which limits its operations to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, be fully and distinctly recognised as excluding the circulation of the Apocrypha.
2. That, in conformity to the previous Resolution, no pecuniary aid can be granted to any Society circulating the Apocrypha; nor, except for the purpose of being applied in conformity to the said Resolution to any individual whatever.
3. That, in all cases in which grants, whether gratuitous or otherwise, of the Holy Scriptures, either in whole or in part, shall be made to any Society, the books be issued bound, and on the express condition that they shall be distributed without alteration or addition.²

1 Andrew Thomson, Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Being a Statement Respecting Their Conference, on April 4, 1826, With a Deputation from the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha, (Edinburgh: W. Whyte & Co., 1826), p. 1 ff.

2 Twenty-second Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1826), p. xvii. In 1827, a 4th regulation was added: 4. "That all grants of Scripture to Societies which circulate the Apocrypha, be made under the express conditions that they be sold or distributed without alteration or addition; and that the proceeds of the sales of any such copies of the Scriptures be held at the disposal of the British and Foreign Bible Society." See Twenty-third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1827), p. xvii.

The Scottish Bible Societies were not satisfied by the regulations; the Edinburgh Bible Society refused to renew their co-operation and sealed their secession with a final statement.¹ The Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society was first sent to the Committee of the B.F.B.S. in May, 1826, and when its sharp demands² were not acceded to, it was published and circulated as a vindication of their secession.³ Most of the Bible Societies in Scotland followed the lead of the Edinburgh Committee, withdrew from the B.F.B.S., and carried on their Bible distribution alone. The former full and harmonious co-operation of the Scottish Societies was not restored in Brown's lifetime.⁴

John Brown was one of twenty-seven ministers and other gentlemen, who formed themselves into a "Committee of Correspondence" with the B.F.B.S., at Edinburgh, on June 14, 1827.⁵

1 Andrew Thomson, Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, (Edinburgh: 1826), p. iii.

2 The E.B.S. demanded three things of the B.F.B.S.: That they give an expression of regret for the past violation of a fundamental law, i.e. the circulation of the Apocrypha; That no further connection be held with foreign Societies which continue to circulate the Apocrypha with their own funds; That the Executive, of the Society, both at home and abroad, be cleansed of all personnel, who favored the circulation of the Apocrypha. See Third Statement, pp. 1-53.

3 Ibid.

4 George Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. I (London: 1859), p. 104.

5 John Brown, Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public, (Edinburgh: Brown & Wardlaw, 1828), p. 51.

The "Committee of Correspondence" passed a series of resolutions in which they expressed their satisfaction with "the Regulations of 1826 and 1827," and "their entire confidence in the integrity and uprightness of those men whose office it was to carry these regulations into effect; and satisfied also, that the British and Foreign Bible Society in their last Annual Report, and the President in his opening speech, in which he declared that these regulations are 'a retractation and correction of their error,' have admitted the impropriety of circulating the Apocrypha, to the utmost extent that fairness and candour can require."¹ Their small organization received much bitter criticism from the larger Edinburgh Society; as secretary, Brown was asked to write a defence of their renewed communication and support of the B.F.B.S. This defence was published by the "Committee of Correspondence" in 1828 under the title, Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public.² Brown vindicated their conduct by showing first that "the British and Foreign Bible Society has been by far the most efficient instrument ever employed for the general circulation of the Holy Scriptures," second that the Society, having realized their error in circulating the Apocrypha, had "now distinctly prohibited" its circulation, and finally therefore, "the

¹ Ibid., pp. 51, 52.

² Ibid., p. i.

claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society are just what they were previously to the commencement of the practice of Apocryphal circulation or rather are stronger in the degree in which the security against Apocryphal distribution is greater NOW than it was THEN."¹ In the latter part of the Statement, Brown meets all the charges against the Executive of the Society and demonstrates that they have not sacrificed their Christian integrity or done anything subsequent to the change in their regulations to forfeit the public confidence.² Of the charges that they have published incorrect and vitiated versions of the Holy Scripture, that they have connected themselves with Foreign Societies which circulate the Apocrypha, and that they have been guilty of the mis-appropriation and profuse expenditure of the funds entrusted them, Brown marshalls much evidence to the contrary and finds these charges to be "utterly false, or grossly exaggerated, or altogether incapable, though substantiated, of cancelling the claims of the Society on the continued and zealous support of the Christian public."³

The Statement of the "Committee of Correspondence," though couched in temperate language, elicited several

1 Ibid., pp. 7-18.

2 Ibid., pp. 19-34.

3 Ibid., pp. 34-48.

caustic replies from members of the E.B.S. The first was Alexander Haldane's Answer to the Statement of the Edinburgh Corresponding Board;¹ the second was Robert Haldane's Exposure of the Statement Recently Published by the Edinburgh Corresponding Board.² Brown's arguments for the B.F.B.S. are bitterly assailed, the old charges are reiterated, and new invectives are hurled at the men who defend, support, and operate the Parent Society.³ Acrimonious strictures against the B.F.B.S. and "Committee of Correspondence" continued to appear in the violently Anti-Apocryphal magazine, The Edinburgh Christian Instructor, under Dr. Andrew Thomson's leadership; the abuse was particularly virulent in 1828 when the "Committee of Correspondence" organized itself on a more permanent basis and changed its name to the Edinburgh Auxiliary Bible Society.⁴

The Apocrypha Controversy largely ceased to exist after 1828, for the B.F.B.S., having adopted its Regulations

1 Alexander Haldane, Answer to the Statement of the Edinburgh Corresponding Board; More Especially as it Relates to the Concealment and Mutilation of Documents by the Earl Street Committee, and to Dr. Leander Van Ess, (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1828), pp. 1-77.

2 Robert Haldane, Exposure of the Statement Recently Published by the Edinburgh Corresponding Board, Respecting the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public, (Edinburgh: William Whyte & Co., 1828), pp. 1-118.

3 Ibid.

4 "Earl-Street Auxiliary in Edinburgh", Edinburgh Christian Instructor, (December, 1828), pp. 1-30.

in 1826 and 1827, and exonerated its name before the public, rested its defence.¹ The vehemence of the seceding Societies continued to be expressed in newspaper, pamphlet, and magazine for several years but was eventually swallowed up in the furies of the Voluntary Controversy, which followed very shortly.² Over the years the bitterness of the prolonged controversy was gradually allayed, but "from the date of the schism the Bible work of Scotland was carried on independently; and the original relations between the Northern Bible Societies and the parent institution were never restored."³

The effects of the Apocrypha Controversy can be seen in the subsequent history of the various Bible Societies. Above all, the Apocrypha was no longer printed or circulated by the B.F.B.S. or the Scottish Bible Societies.⁴ A storm of protest arose on the Continent against the new regulations of the B.F.B.S.; the affiliated societies, numbering about fifty, cut loose from the parent organization and thereafter went their own way.⁵ The American Bible Society, which was founded at New York in 1816, under the influence of the

1 George Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, From Its Institution in 1804, to the Close of Its Jubilee in 1854, (London: 1859), pp. 105, 106.

2 Ibid.

3 William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Vol. I, (London: John Murray, 1904), p. 350.

4 Charles C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, (New Haven: 1946), p. 39.

5 Canton, op. cit., p. 39.

B.F.B.S., followed the controversy with keen interest, and its own policy, which was never to issue the Apocrypha, was confirmed by the results of the controversy.¹ In Scotland, the Bible Societies, which continued in each city after the secession from the B.F.B.S., found a new unity in May 1861, when the National Bible Society of Scotland was formed.² In addition to the large Edinburgh and Glasgow Bible Societies and many smaller Societies, the Glasgow Auxiliary of the B.F.B.S., which had been founded under the leadership of Dr. Ralph Wardlaw in 1826, entered into the N.B.S.S.³ The other attempts to continue correspondence with the B.F.B.S. gradually ceased to function after 1834.⁴ Thus, the Edinburgh Auxiliary Bible Society, which Brown helped to establish, maintained a tenuous communication and support of the B.F.B.S. for a number of years;⁵ the B.F.B.S. was enabled to continue its distribution of Bibles in Scotland.⁶

1 Ibid., p. 40.

2 William C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane, The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, (Edinburgh: 1948), p. 32.

3 Ibid.

4 Library of the National Bible Society of Scotland, Frank Knight, The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland, Part I, 1809-1900, MS, p. 58 a. Auxiliaries at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Inverness, Elgin, Stirling, and Fife died out.

5 George Browne, History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, (London: 1859), p. 112.

6 Ibid. In 1827 the Scottish contribution to the B.F.B.S. dropped from over 5000 pounds to about 600 pounds, but the Society voted to Scotland between 6000 and 7000 copies of the Bible, chiefly in the Gaelic language at a cost of about 1590 pounds, p. 112.

At the beginning of the controversy, Brown was in hearty agreement with his countrymen who called for an exclusion of the Apocrypha from the Bible, but when the B.F.B.S. adopted regulations, which ended their circulation of the Apocrypha, and the Edinburgh Bible Society continued to make unreasonable demands and to secede, Brown chose to defend the parent Society. Brown opposed the great majority of his brethren in the latter part of the controversy because he firmly believed that the path of justice and liberality now lay in a defence of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Brown's Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public, received commendation from the Rev. George Browne, secretary of the Society, who wrote,

A 'Statement' was also put forth by the above body, in vindication of their conduct in resuming a friendly communication with the Society; than which nothing can be appealed to, as containing a clearer or fuller explanation and elucidation of the several points at issue in that part of the controversy to which it refers.¹

On the one hand, the Apocrypha Controversy helped to define and settle "all doubt and ambiguity relating to the meaning and latitude of the laws," for the B.F.B.S.,² and on the other hand, it was a blessing to Scotland, for Dr. William C. Somerville, General Secretary of the National

1 Ibid., pp. 106, 107.

2 Ibid., p. 107.

Bible Society of Scotland, writes,

Scotland has always been chary of control from London in anything, and it gave the people of the northern country a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of their own Bible Societies which they would not otherwise have had. Another factor of importance is that there always have been and still are, legal differences as between England and Scotland in questions of copyright and printing, so that the production and sale of Bibles in Scotland are best handled by a Society centered in Scotland.¹

Today, the National Bible Society of Scotland co-operates extensively with other Bible Societies in overseas countries, particularly the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society;² it has taken a leading role in the United Bible Societies, a world-wide organization, which held its first full meeting in Dunblane in 1948.³ The antipathies of the Apocrypha Controversy have been swallowed up by the years, but its effect has been that the Apocryphal books are not printed or circulated by the Bible Societies of England, Scotland, and America.⁴

1 William C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane, The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, (Edinburgh: 1948), p. 23.

2 Ibid., pp. 61, 65, 72, 73, 75, 87, 90, 93.

3 Ibid., pp. 102-106.

4 Charles C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature, (New Haven: 1946), pp. 39. 40.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I THE WORKS OF JOHN BROWN

A. Books.

- Brown, John. Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1857.
- _____. Barnabas: or, The Christianly Good Man. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Co., 1849.
- _____. Comfortable Words for Christian Parents, Bereaved of Little Children. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1846, 1851, 1858.
- _____. The Dead in Christ, Their State: Present and Future with Reflections on the Death of a Very Dear Christian Friend. Edinburgh: A. Padon, 1852, 1857.
- _____. Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord Jesus Christ: Illustrated in a Series of Expositions. 3 vols. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1850.
- _____. Discourses Suited to the Administration of the Lord's Supper. Edinburgh: David Brown, 1816, 1823, 1853.
- _____. An Exposition of Our Lord's Intercessory Prayer with a Discourse on the Relation of Our Lord's Intercession to the Conversion of the World. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1850, 1866.
- _____. An Exposition of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews. Edited by David Smith. 2 vols. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1862.
- _____. An Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1853.
- _____. Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. 3 vols. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1848, 1849, 1866.
- _____. Hints on the Lord's Supper, and Thoughts for the Lord's Table, Original and Selected. Glasgow: William Collins, 1850.
- _____. Hints on the Permanent Obligation and Frequent Observance of the Lord's Supper. Edinburgh: E. Brown, 1832, 1841.

Brown, John. Hints to Students of Divinity: An Address at the Opening of the Annual Session of the Theological Seminary of the United Secession Church. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1841.

_____. The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, Especially in the Payment of Tribute. Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1837, 1838.

_____. The Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience, Especially in the Payment of Tribute; With an Appendix of Documents and Notes; To Which Are Added Two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Controversy. Third edition. London: William Ball, 1839.

_____. Memorial of Mrs. Margaret-Fisher Brown. Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1841.

_____. Memorials of the Rev. James Fisher, Minister of the Associate (Burgher) Congregation, Glasgow, Professor of Divinity to the Associate (Burgher) Synod: and one of the Four Leaders of the Secession from the Established Church of Scotland: In a Narrative of His Life, and a Selection from His Writings. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Company, 1849.

_____. The Mourner's Friend; or, Instruction and Consolation for the Bereaved, a Selection of Tracts and Hymns. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1836.

_____. Parting Counsels an Exposition of the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of the Apostle Peter with Four Additional Discourses. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1856.

_____. Plain Discourses on Important Subjects. Edinburgh: Alexander Padon, 1852.

_____. On Religion and the Means of Its Attainment. Edinburgh: David Brown, 1818, 1819, 1827, 1853.

_____. The Resurrection of Life: An Exposition of First Corinthians XV, with a Discourse on Our Lord's Resurrection. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1852, 1866.

_____. The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah an Exposition of Psalm XVIII., and Isaiah LII. 13-LIII. 12. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1853.

B. Pamphlets

Brown, John. The Abolition of Death: A Sermon, Preached before the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1841.

_____. The Aged Minister's Resolutions in the Prospect of Death: A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh: 1854.

_____. The Bible: What It Is, What It Does, What It Deserves. Edinburgh: n.d.

_____. Christian Brotherly Love Illustrated and Recommended: A Sermon Preached in Broughton Place Church, February 12, 1843. Edinburgh: William Matheson, 1843.

_____. The Christian Doctrine of Sanctification. Edinburgh: 1819.

_____. The Christian Ministry, and the Character of Its Occupants, Worthy and Unworthy: A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Robert Balmer, D.D., Berwick-upon-Tweed. Edinburgh: 1844.

_____. The Danger of Opposing Christianity, and the Certainty of Its Final Triumph: A Sermon Preached before the Edinburgh Missionary Society on Tuesday, the 2nd of April 1816. Edinburgh: David Brown, 1816.

_____. Documents Respecting the Rev. Dr. John Brown's Opposition to the Payment of the Annuity Tax. Edinburgh: R. Marshall, 1837.

_____. On the Duty of Pecuniary Contribution to Religious Purposes. A Sermon Preached before the London Missionary Society, at Tottenham Court Chapel, on Thursday Evening, May 10, 1821. London: London Missionary Society, 1821.

_____. On the Equity and Benignity of Divine Law. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1845.

_____. On Forgetfulness of God: A Sermon. Edinburgh: n.d.

_____. The Friendship of Christ and His People Indissoluble: A Sermon on the Death Of Rev. John Mitchell, D.D., Glasgow. Edinburgh: David Robertson, 1844.

_____. Heaven: A Sermon Preached on the Death of Rev. James Peddie, D.D., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1845.

Brown, John and Alexander Stewart. Hints on Faith and Hope: with a Memoir of Dr. Stewart by John Brown. Edinburgh: J. Thomson, 1845, 1858.

Brown, John. Human Authority in Religion Condemned by Jesus Christ: An Expository Address Delivered in Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: William Matheson, 1843.

_____. A Letter to the Students of the Exegetical Class of the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall. Edinburgh: 1858.

_____. Love of the Brotherhood. Edinburgh: 1845.

_____. On the Means and Manifestations of a Genuine Revival of Religion: An Address Delivered Before the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, in Rose Street Church, Edinburgh, on November 19, 1839. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1840, 1858.

_____. Notes, Chiefly Historical, on the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1844.

_____. Notes on an Excursion into the Highlands of Scotland, in Autumn 1818. Edinburgh: Ogle, Allardice and Thomson, 1819.

_____. Opinions on Faith, Divine Influence, Human Inability the Design and Effect of the Death of Christ, Assurance, and the Sonship of Christ: Expressed in the Published Writings of John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1841.

_____. Pastoral Letter to the United Presbyterian Congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, from Their Senior Minister John Brown, D.D., on the Occasion of His Protracted Indisposition, Nov. 1857-July 1858. Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears, 1858.

_____. The Present Condition of Them Who Are "Asleep in Christ": A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Hugh Heugh, D.D., Edinburgh: 1846.

_____. A Prophetic Oracle, and an Apostolic Annotation, A Sermon. Edinburgh: 1858.

_____, and John French. Reasons for the Union of Christian Churches: Two Addresses. Edinburgh: 1845.

Brown, John. Remarks on Certain Statements by Alexander Haldane, Esq., in His "Memoir of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and His Brother James A. Haldane." Edinburgh: 1852.

_____. Remarks on the Plans and Publications of Robert Owen, Esq., of New Lanark. Edinburgh: Ogle, Allardice, and Thomson, 1817.

_____. Reply to Charges Brought Against Him in the Scottish Guardian of April 10, 1835. Edinburgh: William Matheson, 1835.

_____. Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. James Hall, D.D., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1826.

_____. A Sermon, Preached on Occasion of the Death of Mrs. Jane Nimmo Brown. Edinburgh: 1816.

_____, and Robert Balmer. Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, Made October 5, 1843, before the United Associate Synod, at Their Request, by Their Two Senior Professors. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1844.

_____. Statement of the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public; by the Edinburgh Committee of Correspondence with the British and Foreign Bible Society. Edinburgh: Brown and Wardlaw, 1828.

_____, and others. Statements of Dissident Members of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, in Reference to Its Separation from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and Publication of Its "Second Statement." Edinburgh: David Brown, 1826.

_____. Statement Made April 1, 1845 before the United Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, on Asking Their Advice. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1845.

_____. On the State of Scotland in Reference to the Means of Religious Instruction: A Sermon Preached at the Opening of the Associate Synod, in Portsburgh Meeting-House, Edinburgh, on Tuesday 27, 1819. Edinburgh: David Brown, 1819.

_____. On the State of Education in Scotland with Hints for Its Improvement. Edinburgh: David Brown, 1817.

_____. Strictures on Mr. Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism in Reply to Mr. Wardlaw's Discourses on the Socinian Controversy. Glasgow: University Press, 1815.

Brown, John. Summary of Principles of the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1855.

_____. The Three Gatherings: Of the Outcasts of Israel, of the Gentiles to Those Outcasts, of All Israel, and of the Fulness of the Gentiles. Edinburgh: A. and A. Padon, 1857.

_____. A Token of Sympathy: "On the Death of a Very Dear Christian Friend." Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears, 1816.

_____. A Translation of the First Epistle of the Apostle Peter. Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1848.

_____. Two Addresses before the Administration of the Lord's Supper. Edinburgh: Grant and Taylor, 1845.

_____. The United Secession Church Vindicated from the Charge Made by James A. Haldane, Esq., of Sanctioning Indiscriminate Admission to Communion. Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1839.

_____. The Voluntary Support of Christianity a Divine Ordinance. Edinburgh: R. Marshall, 1835.

_____. What Ought the Dissenters of Scotland To Do in the Present Crisis? Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1840.

C. Articles and Essays

Brown, John. "Distinction between Natural and Christian Ethics," Venn's Complete Duty of Man; with an Introductory Essay. Edinburgh: n.d.

_____. "The Duty of Prayer for All Men: A Sermon," United Secession Magazine, Vol. III. Edinburgh: 1835.

_____. "Mrs. Isabella Brown," Gibbons' Memoirs of Eminent-ly Pious Women, Who Were Ornaments of Their Sex, Blessings to Their Country, and Edifying Examples to the Church and World. Edited by Samuel Burder. Vol. III. Second edition. London: 1815.

_____. "Letter," Edinburgh Advertiser, November 17, 1837.

_____. "Letter," The Scotsman, February 8, 1838.

_____. "Letter," The Scotsman, May 23, 1838.

Brown, John. "On the Nature and Design of Voluntary Church Associations," Report of the Speeches Delivered at the Public Meeting of the Voluntary Church Association, Held in Broughton Place Church, on Tuesday the 29th January 1833. Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1833.

_____. "Notes, Chiefly Historical, On the Question Respecting the Extent of the Reference of the Death of Christ," United Secession Magazine, June 1841.

_____. "Protest," The Scotsman, January 2, 1836.

_____. "Systematic and Biblical Theology," Maclaurin's Essays and Sermons; with an Introductory Essay, Edinburgh: 1824.

_____. "True Theory of the Sacraments," Henry's Communicants Companion; with an Introductory Essay. Edinburgh: 1825.

D. Works Edited by John Brown

Brown, John. Academical Lectures and Pulpit Discourses by the Late Robert Balmer, D.D., Minister of the First United Associate Congregation, Berwick; and Professor of Systematic Theology to the United Secession Church, with a Memoir of His Life by James Henderson, D.D., Galashiels. 2 vols. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1845.

_____. Address to Students of Divinity by John Brown of Haddington; To Which Is Prefixed a Letter to the Students of Exegesis in the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall by John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: A. Padon, 1858.

_____. The Christian Monitor. 5 vols. Edinburgh: 1821-1826.

_____. The Christian Pastor's Manual: A Selection of Tracts on the Duties, Difficulties, and Encouragements, of the Christian Ministry. Edinburgh: Grant and Taylor, 1826, 1845.

_____. The Christian Repository and Religious Register. 5 vols. Edinburgh: 1816-1820.

_____. Discourses on Interesting Subjects, by Rev. George Brown, of North Berwick; with a Memoir; with a Sermon Preached on the Occasion of His Death by John Brown, D.D., Edinburgh. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1844.

Brown, John. The Jubilee Services of the Rev. John Brown, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church, Held in Edinburgh, on Tuesday, April 8, 1856. Edinburgh: A. and A. Padon, 1856.

_____. Of the Light of Nature, by Nathanael Culverwel, M.A., with a Critical Essay by John Cairns, D.D., Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Company, 1857.

_____. Memoir Prefixed to the Remains of the Rev. Alexander Fisher of Dunfermline. Edinburgh: 1830.

_____. Philological Tracts on the Language of Palestine in the Age of Christ and the Apostles. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1833-1842. Biblical Cabinet, Vols. 2, 9, 37.

_____. Sermons etc., by James Gray, Minister of the Scot's Secession Church, London. Edinburgh: 1829.

_____. Theological Tracts Selected and Original. 3 vols. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Company, 1853, 1854.

_____. A Word in Season to the Ministers of the United Secession Church, May 1842, from a Treatise by Richard Baxter, Entitled "The Cure of Church Divisions." Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1842.

II. GENERAL WORKS

A. Books

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842, Reprinted from the Original Edition under the Superintendence of the Church Law Society. Edinburgh: 1843.

Adamson, William. The Life of the Rev. James Morison, D.D., Principal of the Evangelical Union Theological Hall, Glasgow. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.

Alexander, William L. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1856.

Anderson, William. The Scottish Nation: or the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland. Vol. I. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Company, 1869.

Angus, Joseph. The Voluntary System: A Prize Essay, in Reply to the Lectures of Dr. Chalmers on Church Establishments. London: Jackson and Walford, 1839.

Annual Report of the Broughton Place Congregation's Society for the Promotion of Christianity at Home and Abroad. Edinburgh: 1831-1844.

Annual Report of the Religious and Benevolent Institutions Connected with the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1845-1858.

Baillie, D. M. God Was in Christ, an Essay on Incarnation and Atonement. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1954.

Ballantyne, John. A Comparison of Established and Dissenting Churches. Second edition. Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1830.

Barr, James. The Scottish Church Question. London: James Clarke and Company, 1920.

Barth, Karl. Church and State. Trans. G. Ronald Howe. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1939.

Bellesheim, Alphons. History of the Catholic Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Day. Trans. D. O. H. Blair. 4 vols. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1890.

Beveridge, W. Makers of the Scottish Church. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1908.

Blaikie, William Garden. The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1888.

_____. Thomas Chalmers. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, and Ferrier, 1897.

Blair, William. The United Presbyterian Church: A Handbook of Its History and Principles. Edinburgh: A. Elliot, 1888.

Book of Common Order of the Church of Scotland. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1952.

Brown, C. J. Church Establishments, Defended, with Special Reference to the Church of Scotland. Glasgow: M. Ogle, 1833.

- Brown, John Croumbie. (editor). Centenary Memorial of the Rev. John Brown, Haddington. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1887.
- Brown, John. Horae Subsecivae. 3 vols. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1900.
- _____. A Letter to Rev. John Cairns, D.D., Supplementary Chapter to the Life of Rev. John Brown, D.D. Second edition. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1861.
- _____. Locke and Sydenham and Other Papers. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882.
- Brown, John and D. W. Forrest. (editors). Letters of Dr. John Brown. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1907.
- Brown, John Taylor and W. B. Dunlop. Dr. John Brown a Biography and a Criticism. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1903.
- Brown, P. Hume. A Short History of Scotland. New Edition by Henry W. Meikle. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951.
- Brown, Thomas. Annals of the Disruption with Extracts from the Narratives of Ministers Who Left the Scottish Establishment in 1843. Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1893.
- Brown, William. (editor). Memoir and Select Remains of the Rev. John Brown, Minister of the Gospel, Haddington. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1856.
- Browne, George. The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, from Its Institution in 1804, to the of Its Jubilee in 1854. 2 vols. London: Bagster and Sons, 1859.
- Bryce, James. Ten Years of the Church of Scotland from 1833-1843. 2 vols. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1850.
- Buchanan, Robert. The Ten Years' Conflict: Being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Blackie and Son, 1853.
- Burleigh, J. H. S. The Church-What Is It? Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Committee on Publications, 1937.

- Cairns, John. Memoir of John Brown, D.D., Senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh, and Professor of Exegetical Theology, to the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1860.
- Calvin, John. Institutes of the Christian Religion. Trans. Henry Beveridge. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1845.
- Candlish, Robert S. An Inquiry into the Completeness and Extent of the Atonement, with Especial Reference to the Universal Offer of the Gospel, and the Universal Obligation to Believe. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1845.
- Canton, William. A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society. 4 vols. London: John Murray, 1904.
- Chalmers, Thomas. Lectures on the Establishment and Extension of National Churches, Delivered in London, from April Twenty-fifth to May Twelfth, 1838. Glasgow: W. Collins, 1838.
- Church of Scotland, Proceedings of the Union Assembly Held at Edinburgh, October, 1929. Edinburgh: Lorimer and Chalmers, 1929.
- Cockburn, Henry. Journal of Henry Cockburn, Being a Continuation of the Memorials of His Time, 1831-1854. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874.
- _____. Letters Chiefly Connected with the Affairs of Scotland, from Henry Cockburn to Thomas Francis Kennedy, M. P. London: William Ridgeway, 1874.
- _____. Memorials of His Time. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1856.
- The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in The United States of America Being Its Standards Subordinate to the Word of God, Viz. The Confession of Faith, The Larger and Shorter Catechisms, The Form of Government, The Book of Discipline, and The Directory for the Worship of God. Philadelphia: 1949.
- Cowan, Henry. The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, Being the Baird Lecture for 1895. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896.

Crockett, W. S. Biggar: Historical, Traditional, and Descriptive. Biggar: James B. Watson, 1900.

Cunningham, William. Historical Theology: A Review of the Principal Doctrinal Discussions in the Christian Church Since the Apostolic Age. Edited by James Buchanan and James Bannerman. Second edition. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1864.

_____. The Reformers: and the Theology of the Reformation. Edited by James Buchanan and James Bannerman. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1862.

Dick, Andrew Coventry. A Dissertation on Church Polity. Second Edition. London: Ward and Company, 1850.

Fay, C. R. Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1920.

Finlayson, James. Sermons by James Finlayson, D.D., F.R.S.E., One of the Ministers of the High Church, and Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. To Which Is Prefixed an Account of the Life and Character of the Author. Edited by Dugald Stewart. Edinburgh: Peter Hill, 1809.

First Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London: 1804.

Fleming, J. R. A History of the Church in Scotland, 1843-1875. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927.

_____. A History of the Church in Scotland, 1875-1929. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1933.

_____. The Story of Church Union in Scotland, Its Origins and Progress, 1560-1929. London: James Clarke and Company, 1929.

Gladstone, W. E. The State in Its Relations with the Church. Second edition. London: John Murray, 1839.

Graham, Henry Grey. The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1901.

Grant, Robert M. The Bible in the Church, A Short History of Interpretation. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948.

- Groome, Francis H. (editor). Ordinance Gazetteer of Scotland, A Graphic and Accurate Description of Every Place in Scotland. Edinburgh: 1901.
- Haldane, Alexander. The Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey and of His Brother, James Alexander Haldane. Third edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Company, 1853.
- Haldane, Elizabeth S. The Scotland of Our Fathers A Study of Scottish Life in the Nineteenth Century. London: Alexander Maclehose and Company, 1933.
- Hamilton, Henry. The Industrial Revolution in Scotland. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932.
- Hanna, William. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., 4 vols. Edinburgh: Sutherland and Knox, 1851.
- Healy, J. An Established Church Shewn To Be in Unison with Reason, Warranted by Experience, and Authorized in Scripture. London: J.G. and F. Rivington, 1835.
- Henderson, G. D. Church and Ministry. London: 1951.
- _____. The Church of Scotland, A Short History. Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Youth Committee, 1939.
- _____. The Claims of the Church of Scotland. London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1951.
- _____. Heritage, A Study of the Disruption. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Limited, 1943.
- _____. The Kirk Through the Centuries, A Brief History of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1937.
- Henderson, Henry F. The Religious Controversies of Scotland. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1905.
- Henderson, James. Sermons by the Late James Henderson, D.D., Minister of East United Presbyterian Congregation, Galashiels, with a Memoir by John Cairns, D.D., Berwick. Edited by John Cairns, Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Company, 1859.
- Hetherington, W. M. History of the Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption, May 18, 1843. Seventh edition. 2 vols. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, 1858.

- Highet, John. The Churches in Scotland Today A Survey of Their Principles, Strength, Work, and Statements. Glasgow: Jackson Son and Company, 1950.
- Hodge, Charles. The Church and Its Polity. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1879.
- Hooker, Richard. The Works of Mr. Richard Hooker, in Eight Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, with Several Other Treatises, Also a Life of the Author by Isaak Walton. London: 1821.
- Hunt, John. Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century. Vols. II, III. London: Strahan and Company, 1873.
- Hunter, William. Biggar and the House of Fleming: An Account of the Biggar District, Archaeological, Historical, and Biographical. Biggar: David Lockhart, 1867.
- Inglis, John. A Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1833.
- Irving, Joseph. The Book of Scotsmen Eminent for Achievements in Arms and Arts, Church and State, Law, Legislation, and Literature, Commerce, Science, Travel, and Philanthropy. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1881.
- Landreth, Peter. Life and Ministry of the Rev. Adam Thomson, D. D., Coldstream, and His Labours for Free and Cheap Bible Printing. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1869.
- _____. The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, in Its Changes and Enlargements for One Hundred and Forty Years. A Memorial of Its Localities, Professors, and Training Systems, and of the Superintendence of Students by Presbyteries and Committees. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1876.
- Leckie, J. H. Secession Memories, The United Presbyterian Contribution to the Scottish Church. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1926.
- Lectures on Church Establishments: Delivered in Edinburgh, at the Request of the Voluntary Church Association. Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1835.
- Lectures on Church Establishments, under the Patronage of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society. Glasgow: John Reid and Company, 1835.

Lectures on the Nature, Lawfulness, Duty and Advantages of Civil Establishments of Religion, with an Application of the Argument to the Parochial Economy of Scotland; Delivered in Edinburgh, at the Request of the "Edinburgh Young Men's Association for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland." With a Prefatory Discourse Containing a General Statement of the Case. Edinburgh: Fraser and Company, 1835.

Letters on Sanctification, by the Late Rev. John Brown, Whitburn; with a Memoir of His Life and Character, by the Rev. David Smith, Biggar. Edited by David Smith. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1834.

Locke, John. Four Letters on Toleration. Reprint of Seventh Edition. London: Alexander Murray, 1870.

McCrie, C. G. The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and Her Re-Unions. Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1901.

M'Crie, Thomas. Statement of the Difference between the Profession of the Reformed Church of Scotland, as Adopted by Seceders, and the Profession Contained in the New Testimony and Other Acts, Lately Adopted by the General Associate Synod; Particularly, on the Power of Civil Magistrates Respecting Religion, National Reformation, National Churches and National Covenants. Edinburgh: G. F. Lyon, 1871.

MacEwen, Alexander R. Life and Letters of John Cairns, D.D., LL.D., London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1898.

Macfarlane, John. The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D., Selkirk, Professor of Theology to the Associate Synod. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1862.

MacKielvie, W. Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Company, 1873.

Mackenzie, Robert. The Nineteenth Century, A History. Fifteenth edition. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1909.

Mackenzie, Robert. John Brown of Haddington. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918.

McKerrow, John. History of the Secession Church. Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Company, 1841.

M'Kerrow, John, and John M'Farlane. Life and Correspondence of the Late Rev. Henry Belfrage, D.D., of Falkirk. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Son, 1837.

- MacLaren, Duncan. History of the Resistance to the Amnuity Tax, and of the Origin and Application of Seat Rents for Payment of Ministers' Stipends. Third edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1836.
- M'Laren, E. T. Dr. John Brown and His Sisters Isabella and Jane. Sixth edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1901.
- MacLean, Donald. Aspects of Scottish Church History. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1927.
- Macleod, John. Scottish Theology in Relation to Church History Since the Reformation. Edinburgh: The Publications Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, 1943.
- MacPherson, Hector. Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1905.
- Marshall, Andrew. The Atonement or the Death of Christ the Redemption of His People. Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Son, 1868.
- _____. The Catholic Doctrine of Redemption Vindicated or Modern Views of the Atonement Particularly Those of Dr. Wardlaw Examined and Refuted. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1844.
- _____. The Death of Christ the Redemption of His People or the Atonement Regulated by the Divine Purpose. Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1841.
- _____. Ecclesiastical Establishments Considered. Fourth edition. Glasgow: M. Lochhead, 1829.
- _____. Ecclesiastical Establishments Farther Considered. Glasgow: M. Lochhead, 1831.
- _____. A Reply to the Vindication of Ecclesiastical Establishments by the Late Rev. John Inglis. Glasgow: David Robertson, 1834.
- Martin, Alexander. Church Union in Scotland, the First Stage Completed. Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1925.
- Mathieson, William Law. Church and Reform in Scotland, A History from 1797 to 1843. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1916.
- Memorial of the Jubilee Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, May 1897. Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1897.

Memorials of the Union of the Secession and Relief Churches Now the United Presbyterian Church, May 1847. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1847.

Miall, Edward. Views of the Voluntary Principle. Second edition. London: Arthur Hall, Virute, and Company, 1850.

Minutes of the United Associate Synod, 1841-1847. Glasgow: Aird and Russell, 1820-1840.

Muir, Ramsay. A Short History of the British Commonwealth. 2 vols. London: George Philip and Son, 1922.

Murray, Robert H. Studies in the English Social and Political Thinkers of the Nineteenth Century. 2 vols. Cambridge: 1929.

Nicolson, Alexander. (editor). Memoirs of Adam Black. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1885.

Ordinal and Service Book for Use in Courts of the Church, The Church of Scotland. Second edition. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1954.

Owen, Robert. A New View of Society: or Essays on the Principles of the Formation of the Human Character, and the Application of the Principle to Practice. Second edition. London: 1813-1814.

Paley, William. The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy. Third edition. London: 1876.

Patterson, John Brown. Discourses by the Late John B. Patterson, M.A., Minister of Falkirk; to Which is Prefixed a Memoir of His Life, and Select Literary Remains. 2 vols. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1838.

Peddie, Alexander. Recollections of Dr. John Brown, Author of 'Rab and His Friends,' etc., with a Selection from His Correspondence. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1894.

Polhill, Edward. Divine Will Considered in Its Eternal Decrees and Holy Execution of Them. London: 1673.

Principal Acts of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1892, 1894.

Proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: October-November 1900.

Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1873, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1882, 1884, 1885, 1887.

Proceedings of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: 1847-1856, 1857-1863, 1864-1869, 1870-1873, 1874-1876, 1877-1880, 1881-1884, 1885-1900.

Rainy, Robert, and James MacKenzie. Life of William Cunningham, D.D., London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1871.

Report of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1838, 1840.

Report of Proceedings in the Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology in the United Secession Church, at the Instance of Drs. James Hay and Andrew Marshall before the United Associate Synod, July 1845. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1845.

Report of the Scottish Missionary Society, for 1819; with an Appendix, Containing Extracts of Correspondence and Other Documents and a List of Subscriptions, Donations. Also Contains Reports from 1820-1826. Edinburgh: 1819-1826.

Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed and Overtures Sent down to Presbyteries by the General Assembly. Edinburgh: 1905, 1910, 1928, 1929.

Robertson, Andrew. History of the Atonement Controversy in Connexion with the Secession Church. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1846.

Ross, James. A History of Congregational Independency in Scotland. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1900.

Scott, David. Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church: Till Its Disruption and Union with the Free Church of Scotland in 1852. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1886.

Scott, Hew. Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. New edition. Vol. I. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915.

Scott, Walter. The Journal of Sir Walter Scott 1825-32, from the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford. New edition. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1891.

Simpson, Patrick Carnegie. The Life of Principal Rainy. 2 vols. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.

- Small, Robert. History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733-1900. 2 vols. Edinburgh: David M. Small, 1904.
- Smeaton, Oliphant. Principal James Morison the Man and His Work. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1901.
- Smith, Ronald Gregor. The New Man, Christianity and Man's Coming of Age. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1956.
- Smith, Thomas J. Studies in Criticism and Revelation. London: The Epworth Press, 1925.
- Somerville, William C. From Iona to Dunblane, The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948. Edinburgh: The National Bible Society of Scotland, 1948.
- Stephen, Leslie. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. VII. London: Smith, Elder, and Company, 1886.
- Storr, Vernon F. The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century 1800-1860. London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913.
- Taylor, W. M. The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day. London: Charles Burnet and Company, 1887.
- Testimony of the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Two Parts, Historical and Doctrinal. Edinburgh: John Lothian, 1828.
- Thomson, Adam. A Comparative View of the English and Scottish Dissenters. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1839.
- Thomson, Andrew, and Gavin Struthers. Historical Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church by the Rev. Andrew Thomson, B.A., and the History of the Rise of the Relief Church by the Rev. Gavin Struthers, D.D. Edinburgh: A. Fullarton and Company, 1848.
- Thomson, Thomas. A Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen. Vol. I. London: Blackie and Son, 1868.
- Tillich, Paul. The Protestant Era. Trans. James L. Adams. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.
- Torrey, Charles Cutler. The Apocryphal Literature, a Brief Introduction. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.

- Tulloch, John. Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century. London: 1855.
- Twenty-second Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London: 1826.
- Twenty-third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society. London: 1827.
- Warburton, William. The Alliance between Church and State: or, the Necessity and Equity of an Established Religion and a Test Law Demonstrated. London: 1766.
- Wardlaw, Ralph. Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ. Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1843.
- _____. Discourses on the Principal Points of the Socinian Controversy. Fifth edition. London: Longman, 1837.
- _____. National Church Establishments Examined: a Course of Lectures Delivered in London During April and May 1839. London: Jackson and Walford, 1839.
- _____. Unitarianism Incapable of Vindication, a Reply to the Rev. James Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism. Glasgow: Andrew and John Duncan, 1816.
- Watt, Hugh. Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption Incorporating the Chalmers Lectures for 1940-44. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited, 1943.
- Whale, J. S. The Protestant Tradition, an Essay in Interpretation. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1955.
- White, Alexander. History of Broughton Place United Presbyterian Church with Sketches of Its Missionary Operations. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1872.
- Wilbur, Earl Morse. A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England, and America. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Woodside, David. The Soul of a Scottish Church or the Contribution of the United Presbyterian Church to Scottish Life and Religion. Edinburgh: n.d.
- Woodward, E. L. The Age of Reform. Oxford: At the Clarendon, Press, 1938.
- Yates, James. Sequel to a Vindication of Unitarianism. Liverpool: 1817.

Yates, James. A Vindication of Unitarianism in Reply to Mr. Wardlaw's Discourses on the Socinian Controversy.
London: 1815.

B. Pamphlets

Act, Declaration, and Testimony, for the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of Scotland by the Associate Presbytery. Edinburgh: William Gray, 1747.

Acts and Proceedings of the Associate Synod at Edinburgh, April 1747. Edinburgh: William Gray, 1747.

Cairns, John. On the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1872.

Candlish, Robert S. Remarks on the Dean of Faculty's Letter to the Lord Chancellor. Edinburgh: Johnstone, 1839.

Carson, Alexander. Review of Dr. Brown on the Law of Christ Respecting Civil Obedience Especially in the Payment of Tribute. London: 1838.

Chalmers, Thomas. Remarks on the Present Position of the Church of Scotland, Occasioned by the Publication of a Letter from the Dean of Faculty to the Lord Chancellor. Glasgow: Collins, 1839.

Charges Brought Against the Rev. James Morison, with an Abstract of His Defence: Together with His Reasons of Protest and Appeal and Also the Reasons of Protest and Appeal by the Congregation of Clerk's Lane, Kilmarnock. Kilmarnock: J. Davie, 1841.

Cunningham, William. Lecture on the Nature and Lawfulness of Union between Church and State. Second edition. Edinburgh: Fraser and Company, 1835.

_____. Remarks on the Twenty-third Chapter of the Confession of Faith, as Bearing on Existing Controversies.
Edinburgh: 1843.

Davidson, P. The Two Gospels: or Brief Notes in Support of the United Associate Synod's View of the Doctrine of Atonement, as Opposed to that of Dr. Andrew Marshall, and Others. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons, 1845.

Defence of the Rev. Robert T. Walker, of Comrie, before the United Associate Presbytery of Perth. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1841.

Dick, A. C. Substance of a Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Evangelical Dissenters of Different Denominations, Held in Edinburgh on 13 September 1832. Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1832.

Earl-Street Auxiliary in Edinburgh: or the Old Corresponding Board in a New Shape. Edinburgh: W. Whyte and Company, 1828.

Gordon, Thomas. A View of the Certainty of the Divine Foreknowledge, in Proof of Divine Predestination to Eternal Life and in Disproof of the Modern Scheme of Universal Inefficient Atonement. Falkirk: W. Gillies, 1843.

Gorham, George C. A Statement Submitted to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the Unlawfulness of Circulating the Apocryphal Books Indiscriminately Mingled with the Inspired Writings. Second edition. London: Mills, Jowett, and Mills, 1825.

Guthrie, John. The "New Views" True Views: Being a Review of Doctrinal Questions and Cases, under Discussion in the Synod of the United Secession Church. Edinburgh: Matthew Paterson, 1843.

Haldane, Alexander. Answer to the Statement of the Edinburgh Corresponding Board; More Especially as It Relates to the Concealment and Mutilation of Documents by the Earl Street Committee, and to Dr. Leander Van Ess. Edinburgh: W. Whyte and Company, 1828.

_____. A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Apocrypha etc. London: Hamilton, Adams and Company, 1825.

Haldane, Robert. The Duty of Paying Tribute Enforced in Letters to the Rev. Dr. John Brown, Occasioned by His Resisting the Payment of the Annuity Tax. Edinburgh: 1838.

_____. Exposure of the Statement Recently Published by the Edinburgh Corresponding Board, Respecting the Claims of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the Support of the Christian Public. Edinburgh: W. Whyte and Co., 1828.

_____. Review of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Relative to the Apocrypha and to Their Administration on the Continent. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant, 1825.

Haldane, Robert. Second Review of the Conduct of the Directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society Containing an Account of the Religious State of the Continent; in Answer to a Letter Addressed to the Author by the Rev. Dr. Steinkopff. Edinburgh: A. Allardice and Company, 1826.

Heugh, Hugh. Irenicum: An Inquiry into the Real Amount of the Differences Alleged to Exist in the Synod of the Secession Church, on the Atonement and Doctrines Connected with It. Glasgow: David Robertson, 1845.

Hope, John. A Letter to the Lord Chancellor, on the Claims of the Church of Scotland, in Regard to Its Jurisdiction and on the Proposed Changes in Its Polity. Edinburgh: W. Whyte and Company, 1839.

Johnston, Robert. A Letter of Congratulations to the Rev. Alexander Craik, Minister of Libberton, on His Defence of the Established Church, in His Letter to John Brown, Minister of the Associate Congregation, Biggar. Edinburgh: 1820.

Lauder, William L. The Whole Question of Ecclesiastical Establishments Stated and Considered. Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1833.

Lawson, George. Considerations on the Overture Lying before the Associate Synod, Respecting Some Alterations in the Formula Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate in Matters of Religion; and the Obligations of Our Covenants, National and Solemn League, on Posterity. Edinburgh: 1797.

Macgregor, James. The Question of Principle Now Raised in the Free Church, Specially Regarding the Atonement. Second edition. Edinburgh: John MacLaren, 1870.

Macgregor, S. (editor). Report of the Speeches Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Friends of the Established Church of Scotland, Desirous of Obtaining, Through the Aid of the State, an Extension of the Means of Religious Instruction and Parochial Superintendence. Edinburgh: Fraser and Company, 1835.

Marshall, Andrew. A Letter to the Rev. Andrew Thomson, D.D., Minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, Occasioned by a Review in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for August, 1829, on the Subject of Ecclesiastical Establishments. Glasgow: M. Lochhead, 1830.

Remarks on the Pamphlet Intituled "Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points, Made October 5th, 1843, before the United Associate Synod. Edinburgh: Quintin Dalrymple, 1845.

Morison, James. Evangelical Union: Its Origin and a Statement of Its Principles. Kilmarnock: 1843.

_____. The Extent of the Atonement: or the Question, For Whom Did Christ Die? Answered. Kilmarnock: J. Davie, 1841.

_____. The Nature of the Atonement: or the Question, What is the Atonement? Answered. Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1841.

_____. The Nature of the Propitiation: or, the Question What is the Atonement? Answered. London: T. Ward, 1843.

_____. Not Quite a Christian: or, the Text "Not Far from the Kingdom of God," Considered. London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1844.

_____. Saving Faith: or, the Simple Belief of the Gospel, Considered. Kilmarnock: J. Davie, 1842.

_____. The Way of Salvation: or the Question, "What Must I Do To Be Saved? Answered. London: T. Ward, 1845.

Morison, Robert. Defence of Christ's Truth. The Case of the Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate, before the United Associate Synod, May 1842. Glasgow: George Gallie, 1842.

Narrative and Testimony of the General Associate Synod.
Edinburgh: 1804.

Nicol, Andrew. National Churches Allied to Despotism: Incompatible with the Rights of Man, Religious and Political, and a Usurpation of the Authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, as Head of His Church, and "Governor Among the Nations."
Edinburgh: M. Paterson, 1834.

Polhill, Edward. Essay on the Extent of the Death of Christ, from the Treatise on the Divine Will. Edited by Robert Balmer. Melrose: 1842.

Quigley, James and David Kennedy. Proceedings of the United Associate Synod in the Case of the Memorials on the State of Doctrine in the Secession Church, May 1845. Edinburgh: Quintin Dalrymple, 1845.

Rainy, Robert. Explanatory Notes on the Declaratory Act of the Free Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: MacNiven, Wallace, 1894.

Report of the Speeches Delivered in Gordon Street Church, Glasgow, at the Formation of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Society, on Monday, 12th November, 1832. Third edition.
Glasgow: W. Land, 1832.

Simeon, C. A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Vindication of the Proceedings of That Society Against 'The Statement of the Edinburgh Bible Society Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha.' London: R. Watts, 1825.

Statement by the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Edinburgh: A. Balfour and Company, 1825.

A Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Government, and Discipline, of the Church of Scotland, or First Testimony of the Associate Synod. Edinburgh: 1734.

Third Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society Being a Statement Respecting Their Conference, on April 4, 1826, with a Deputation from the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha. Edinburgh: W. Whyte, 1826.

Thomson, Andrew and James Harper. Sermons Preached on Occasion of the Death of John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Company, 1858.

Thomson, Andrew. Second Statement of the Committee of the Edinburgh Bible Society, Relative to the Circulation of the Apocrypha by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1826.

Venn, H. Remarks on the Propriety of Applying the Funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the Circulation of Such Foreign Versions as Contain the Apocrypha, in Places Where no Other Versions Will Be Generally Received. London: Knight and Bagster, 1825.

Wood, James J. The Question of Doctrine in Connexion with the Negotiations for Union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches. Edinburgh: Ballantyne and Company, 1870.

C. Articles

Cunningham, William. "Dr. Brown on Civil Obedience," The Presbyterian Review, October 1839; April 1840.

"Death of Rev. Dr. John Brown," The Scotsman, October 16, 1858.

"Deaths," The Scotsman, October 16, 1858.

"Deputation to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland," Witness, October 24, 1843.

- "Dr. Brown's Life and Work," The North British Review, Vol. XXXIII, August-November 1860.
- "Dr. John Brown," The United Presbyterian Magazine, July 1860.
- "Earl Street Auxiliary in Edinburgh," Edinburgh Christian Instructor, December 1828.
- Guilland, Anton. "The Pacification of Europe 1799-1802," The Cambridge Modern History, Napoleon. Vol. IX. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1906.
- Haldane, Robert. "Letter to the Rev. Dr. John Brown," Edinburgh Advertiser, November 14, 1837.
- "July Meeting of Synod," The United Secession Magazine, September 1845.
- Lothian, Andrew. "The Life of Dr. George Lawson," Christian Repository and Religious Register, Vol. V. April 1820.
- Macdonald, J. R. M. "The Terror," The Cambridge Modern History, The French Revolution, Vol. VIII. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1904.
- "M'kerrow's History of the Secession Church," The Presbyterian Church, October 1839.
- Marshall, Andrew. "Letter," The Presbyterian Review, November 1844.
- Patterson, John Brown. "Sketches of the Most Distinguished Ministers of the City," Edinburgh Star, September 17, 1824.
- "Proceedings of the United Secession Synod," The United Secession Magazine, June 1845.
- "Report of Proceedings of the United Associate Synod in the Cases of the Rev. James Morison and Rev. Robert T. Walker, Comrie," The United Secession Magazine, June 1841.
- "Review of Marshall's Sermon on Ecclesiastical Establishments," Edinburgh Christian Instructor, August 1829.
- "Wardlaw and Angus on the Voluntary System," The Presbyterian Review, January 1840.
- Wilbert, P. F. "Philosophy and the Revolution," The Cambridge Modern History, The French Revolution. Vol. VIII. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1904.

Wilson, H. W. "The Command of the Sea," The Cambridge Modern History, Napoleon, Vol. IX. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1906.

D. Unpublished Materials

"Edinburgh University, List of Students, 1791-1800," Ms. University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh.

"Edinburgh University Matriculation Roll, Arts, Law, Divinity, 1775-1810," Ms. Vol. II. University of Edinburgh Library, Edinburgh.

Knight, Frank. "The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland, Part I, 1809-1900," Ms. Library of the National Bible Society of Scotland, Edinburgh.

"Lee Papers, Correspondence, 1843-1844," Mss. # 3444, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

"Lee Papers, Correspondence, 1835-1837," Mss. # 3441, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

"Letter to the Rev. John Brown, D.D. from His Students," Ms. September 9, 1834. Possession of Mrs. Arthur McLean, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, 1791-1831," Ms. Minute Book # 1, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, 1831-1841," Ms. Minute Book # 2, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Associate Congregation of Broughton Place, 1841-1848," Ms. Minute Book # 3, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Broughton Place, 1848-1852," Ms. Minute Book # 4, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Broughton Place, 1852-1856," Ms. Minute Book # 5, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

"Minute Book of the Session of the United Presbyterian Congregation of Broughton Place, 1856-1858," Ms. Minute Book # 6, Library of Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh.

Montgomery, Alfred Baxter. "The Voluntary Controversy in the Church of Scotland 1829-1843 with Particular Reference to Its Practical and Theological Roots," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1953, Tower Room, New College Library, Edinburgh.

Nobbs, Eric. "The Family Tree of John Brown of Haddington," Mss. Possession of Mrs. Arthur H. McLean, Edinburgh.

"Origin of the Church in Broughton Place," Ms. Session House, Broughton Place Congregation, Edinburgh.

"Origin of the Congregation in Rose Street," Ms. Session House, Broughton Place Congregation, n.d., Edinburgh.

"Remarks on the Present State of Rose Street Congregation," Ms. Session House, Broughton Place Congregation, 1819, Edinburgh.

"Scroll of Reasons for Translating John Brown to Broughton Place," Ms. Library of Broughton Place Church, n.d., Edinburgh.